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The Naval Biography of Great Britain: Consisting of Historical Memoirs of Those Officers of the British Navy Who Distinguished Themselves During the Reign of His Majesty George III

By
JAMES RALFE

VOLUME I

With a New Introduction and Preface by
GEORGE ATHAN BILLIAS

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BRITISH ACCOUNTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

THE STORY OF the American Revolution remains a rather one-sided one, even after almost two hundred years. There are many reasons why this is so, not the least of them being the general unavailability of certain important British historical source books. This series, *British Accounts of the American Revolution,* aims to make more accessible some primary and secondary source materials that heretofore were out-of-print, available only in abridged editions, or found mainly in rare book collections.

Institutions tend to reflect the societies from which they spring, and the British navy, army, and war cabinet were no exceptions to the rule. British society, being hierarchically-minded and class conscious, tended to produce military organizations that were microcosms of the society at large. It should be no surprise, therefore, to find that most of these accounts represent the view from the top, so to speak—the writings, memoirs, and biographies of British admirals, generals, and ministers who directed the war effort.

The navy was Britain's main line of defense and offense throughout the eighteenth century, and many of the books in this series are devoted to naval history. Two of the multi-volume sets—Robert Beatson's *Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain, from 1727-1783* and James Ralfe's *The Naval Biography of Great Britain*—are regarded as classics by some historians. The two biographies of Admiral George B. Rodney by Godfrey B. Mundy and David Hannay, on the other hand, are treated with great caution by scholars. Thomas White's *Naval Researches,* although seemingly highly specialized, takes up one of the most celebrated controversies regarding naval tactics of the Revolutionary War.

The British army comes in for its fair share of attention. Edward B. De Fonblanque's biography of John Burgoyne remains an important explanation for the general's conduct in the Saratoga campaign in 1777. The

journals and orderly books of Lieutenant James M. Hadden of the Royal Artillery, however, give us glimpses of that same campaign from another point of view. Sir Hugh Percy's letters from Boston and New York from 1774 to 1776 record some impressions of American reactions early in the war, while Colonel Stephen Kemble's journals of army orders enable us to fix the exact location of most British units in the New York City area from 1775 to 1778.

The most significant books in this series for the research scholar are the volumes issued initially by the Historical Manuscripts Commission of Great Britain. These works present the writings of some of Britain's most important government and military leaders at the time of the Revolutionary War. Two volumes—*Report on the Manuscripts of Mrs. Stopford-Sackville of Drayton House Northamptonshire*—are concerned mainly with the papers of Lord George Germain, the cabinet minister primarily responsible for British strategy in the American theater of operations. Another volume reprints many papers of the Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary of State for the Colonies from August, 1772, to November, 1775. A four-volume set—*Report of the American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain*—contains the headquarters papers of the successive commanders-in-chief of the British army during the war.

The publication of this series should help to redress the existing imbalance of historical sources in America on the subject, and to make it possible to present the British side of the struggle in more meaningful terms.

PREFACE

JAMES RALFE, a writer on naval affairs during the first half of the nineteenth century, published voluminously on the subject. He was the author of *The Naval Chronology of Great Britain,* a three-volume work published in 1820, which covered naval and maritime events from the beginning of the war in 1803 to the end of the conflict in 1816. A very useful compilation, these volumes were issued in parts and constituted a continuation of an earlier *Naval Chronology* by another author.

Ralfe then turned his efforts to the present work. These volumes, too, were published in parts. The contents consist of biographical sketches of naval officers of distinction who served during the reign of King George III. So far as can be determined, several of these memoirs were contributed by the subjects themselves. The sketches in many instances contain criticisms by some officers of the conduct of their colleagues in certain naval actions, and for that reason alone the work is of singular importance.

The American Revolutionary War is generally regarded as a low point in Britain's naval history. But Ralfe's work makes it clear that in the later years of that conflict, certain officers such as Admirals Rodney and Hood helped to restore Britain's naval prestige. In the postwar period, a rising group of new officers revived Britain's reputation and worked hard to rebuild her seapower. Their efforts during these years contributed to the emergence of Britain's naval domination in the Napoleonic wars, culminating in Nelson's victory at Trafalgar in 1804.

The significance of Ralfe's work lies in the memoirs that were contributed by the subjects themselves. Although they are not to be trusted in all cases, they often constitute a version of events by eyewitnesses. The conflicting accounts of certain naval actions in themselves are of historical importance. Ralfe's volumes, along with

Beatson's Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain from 1727 to 1783, rank among the most important older works dealing with Britain's naval history during the American Revolutionary War era.

George Athan Billias
Clark University

THE

NAVAL BIOGRAPHY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN:

CONSISTING OF

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF

THOSE OFFICERS OF THE BRITISH NAVY

WHO DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES DURING THE REIGN OF HIS MAJESTY GEORGE III.

By J. RALFE.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE DUKE OF CLARENCE,

LORD HIGH ADMIRAL OF ENGLAND,

&c. &c. &c.

THIS WORK

IS,

BY HIS ROYAL PERMISSION,

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ADVERTISEMENT.

IN undertaking to record the services of those Officers of the British Navy who distinguished themselves during the reign of his Majesty GEORGE III. it may be necessary to state, that it is not our intention to enter into any particulars of the different circumstances that have called forth their talents, or to examine into acts of a private nature: both are equally foreign to the plan of this work. A review of the professional services of those who have taken an active part in the late wars, is all that is intended; to trace their career from the commencement to the close, and to place their actions in such a point of view, as shall convince every individual of their superior talents and excellence. With this object solely before us, we shall carefully abstain from introducing any subject of a political nature, upon which a difference of opinion might be formed. Indeed, in recording the services of such men as Rodney, Howe, Hood, Duncan, St. Vincent, and Nelson, nothing more is required than a full statement of facts, to enable the reader to form a correct opinion of their abilities: they require no surreptitious aid to heighten the importance of their actions; they form a series of models of valour, fortitude, and perseverance; in short, of every military excellence and virtue. Such men never die; their actions and example are always before us, encouraging us by the one to imitate the other.

It is unnecessary to offer any remarks on the vital importance of the British navy: upon the navy has depended the prosperity and independence of the country; and upon

the navy this kingdom must always chiefly rely for the preservation of its safety and glory.

It is also unnecessary to dwell on the importance of maintaining a high character for naval spirit and enterprise: without the possession of such feelings, this country cannot possibly maintain that station which it has hitherto held among the nations of the world. It becomes, therefore, of the most essential importance to encourage it with every honourable distinction of public approbation, and to embrace every opportunity of recording the honour and reputation acquired by the bravery and intrepidity of the officers and seamen of the British navy. The glory they have obtained is infinitely of greater importance than any immediate benefit that has been derived from their actions. "He who gives glory to his country gives that which is far more valuable to it than any acquisition whatever. Glory alone is not to be taken away by time or accident: ships, territories, or possessions may be wrested from a country; but the mode of acquiring them can never be forgotten, and the glory of the conquest is independent of all accidents." Upon such a topic we might easily expatiate, but we feel such an attempt would be totally superfluous, from the opinions entertained by the nation at large. We may, however, be allowed to say a few words on the services performed; and though they have ever been the theme of universal panegyric, there never was a period in which were displayed greater skill, courage, and enterprise: at no period of our history were there ever so many instances of the superiority of British seamen; at no period of our history were there ever so many instances of general and individual bravery evinced; at no period of our history were there ever so many brilliant examples of devotion to their king and country displayed, as during the time embraced by this work. Throughout the whole of that long and eventful period they always maintained the characteristics of British valour, naval

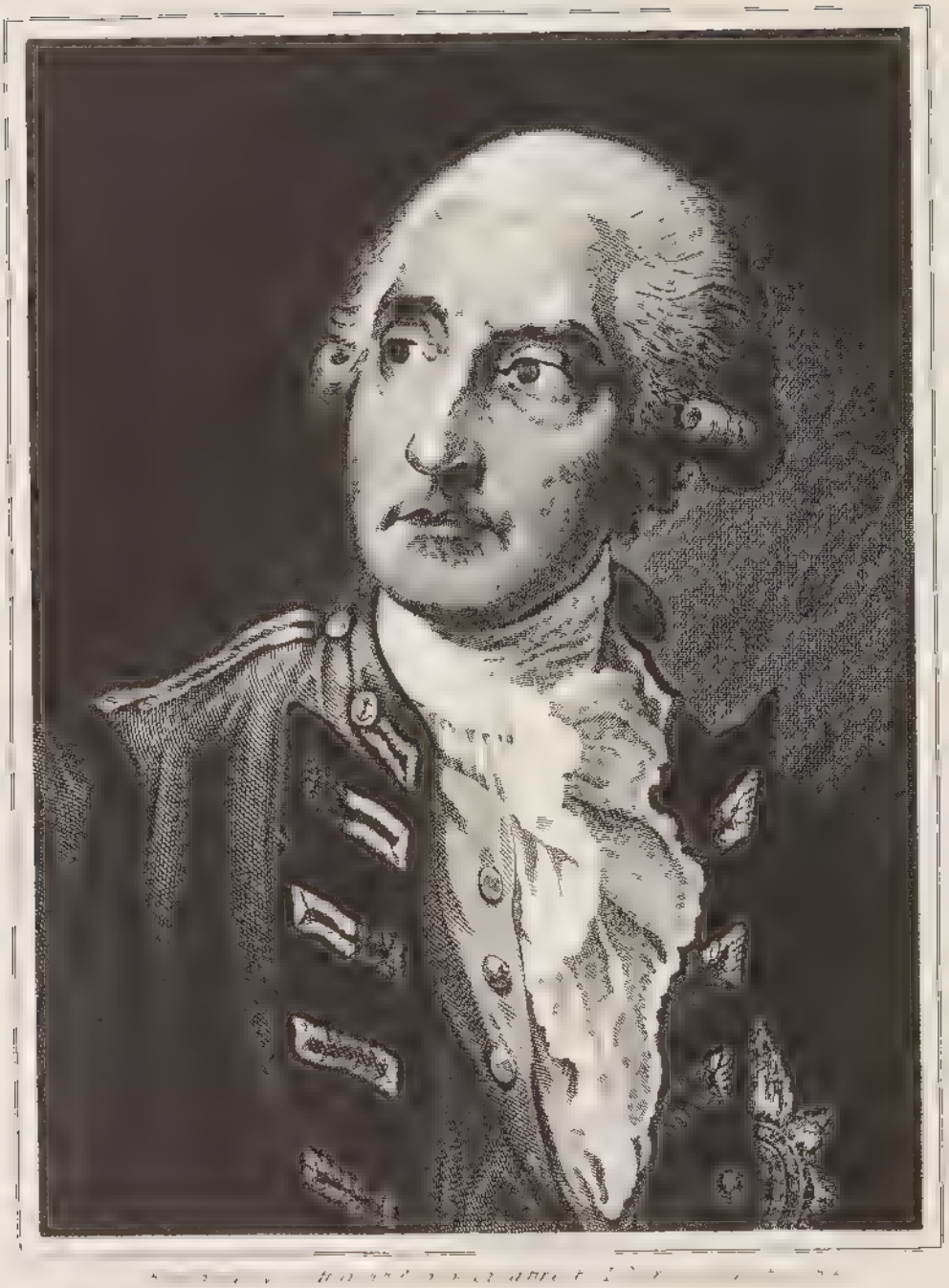
and scientific skill, justice and clemency in the hour of victory, and a disposition to lighten the evils of war. What benefits have they not thereby ensured to posterity! Who is there that is not astonished at their achievements, and proportionably proud of their bravery and constancy? Or who is there, that reflects but a moment on their sufferings and privations, who looks at the dangers to which they are continually exposed, who reviews the manner in which they have overcome every difficulty to which they have been opposed, and who has remarked the glory that has been derived from their gallant exploits, and will venture to withhold his tribute of praise and admiration? It is their services; it is the patriotic devotion to the cause of their country, their generous contempt of danger, their readiness to undertake any enterprise, however hazardous; it is the zeal and alacrity displayed by them in the execution of the service, that render them deserving of the gratitude of the country, and secure to their exploits the tribute of universal applause.

Another subject, no less gratifying and consolatory to the minds of Englishmen, is to be found in the circumstance, that during a war of unexampled duration, trial, and difficulty; and though the season or the elements might at times have proved unpropitious, and prevented a favourable termination to their exertions; though they have fought with French, Spaniards, Dutch, Danes, Russians, and the whole maritime world combined; yet in no single instance where a fleet of Britain has contended with an enemy, in no general engagement have they sustained a signal defeat, or even lost a single ship in the encounter.

Another circumstance may also be mentioned equally gratifying and important. Though amongst the officers of the British navy there have been men of different political opinions; though they have been opposed to each other in the senate: yet, during the whole of the war, from 1793 to its final termi-

nation, they never suffered those opinions to interfere with their professional duties; but when their country called, threw away all minor differences, and united heart and hand in her defence, in asserting her rights and protecting her commerce, in upholding the honour of the crown and humbling the pride of her enemies. Services like these deserve to be recorded in a particular manner; and, however unqualified we may be to undertake such a work, we trust our exertions will not be entirely thrown away; that while it will prove satisfactory to those who survive and are mentioned in the following pages, to find their services recorded and faithfully handed down to posterity, we trust it will serve to animate to the most noble exertions those who have dedicated their lives to the service of the country, and have commenced their career in the same path of honour and glory.

In conclusion, we beg to observe, that our endeavours throughout will be guided by truth: notwithstanding which, it is very probable some errors may occur: should any be discovered, we trust the reader will be kind enough to communicate them to us, that we may take the earliest opportunity to correct them.



Admiral Lord Hood G.C.B.

Naval Biography

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF ADMIRAL LORD RODNEY.

THE gallant individual who is the subject of the present memoirs was the second son of Henry Rodney, Esq. of Walton-upon-Thames, who was descended from the Rodneys of Rodney-Stoke, in the county of Somerset, which estate is known to have been in the possession of that family above six hundred years. Mr. Henry Rodney commanded the royal yacht in which his Majesty George II. and the Duke of Buckingham sailed, going to and from Hanover, and was so great a favourite with them, that they stood sponsors to his second son, who was born February 21, 1718, and named George Bridges, after his majesty and the duke: they also advised his being brought up to the navy, and promised at the same time that he should be advanced in that profession as rapidly as the regulation of the service would admit*.

It was under these favourable auspices young Rodney went to sea at twelve years old; and the diligence and activity he evinced soon gained him the esteem of his superior officers. Having attracted the attention of Admiral Matthews, he was taken by that officer to be one of his lieutenants, when he proceeded as commander-in-chief to the Mediterranean in 1742; and on the 9th November following, he appointed him to command the Plymouth of 60 guns, which commission was confirmed by the Admiralty. On his return home, he was appointed, in 1743, to the Sheerness of 20 guns; and in the following year, to the Ludlow Castle of 44 guns: but he does not appear to have had a single oppor-

* Mr. Rodney married Mary, eldest daughter and coheiress of Sir H. Newton, Knight, envoy extraordinary to Genoa, Tuscany, &c. LL. D. Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, and Chancellor of the diocese of London.

tunity of distinguishing himself further than by a due discharge of his professional duties. In 1745, he formed one of the court-martial appointed to inquire into the conduct of some of the captains of the British squadron under the command of Admirals Matthews and Lestock, during the action with the French fleet on the 11th February, 1744. In the spring of 1746, he commanded the Eagle, a new ship of 60 guns, on the Irish station, where he captured two large privateers; one of which, mounting 22 guns, had formerly been a frigate in the British navy.

At no period of the war did the navy of Great Britain make a more glorious and conspicuous figure than during the year 1747, when the destruction of the French commerce and navy was effected by a succession of victories, in the achievement of which Captain Rodney had his full share. Intelligence having been received of the expected arrival of one hundred and seventy sail of French merchantmen from St. Domingo, convoyed by M. Bois de la Mothe with four ships of war, Commodore Fox was ordered to sea with a small squadron, in which was the Eagle, Captain Rodney, to intercept them. This was fortunately effected on the 21st June, when forty-eight of the convoy fell into the hands of their pursuers, six of which were taken by the Eagle; the remainder, being favoured by thick weather and a dark night, got clear off.

He next accompanied Admiral Hawke to intercept a large fleet of merchant-ships, consisting of two hundred and fifty sail, which were assembling at the Isle of Aix, to proceed from thence to the West Indies, escorted by eight sail of the line, one of 50 guns, frigates, and smaller vessels, which were fortunately fallen in with on the 14th October. About twelve o'clock the action began, and soon became general. It was maintained on both sides with the greatest bravery till five o'clock, when victory declared in favour of the British flag.

In this action Captain Rodney behaved with such spirit and resolution, such firm and judicious conduct, as stamped him an officer of superior merit and abilities, and is said to have laid the foundation of that popularity which he afterwards in so high a degree possessed.

In the month of November following, Captain Rodney was one of the principal evidences against Captain Fox of the Kent, and declared that while he was engaged with two of the enemy's ships in the above action, Captain Fox had it in his power to come to his assistance, but did not. It is, however, the opinion of some, that Captain Rodney was, on this occasion, rather too harsh and severe, owing probably to that degree of

irritation which some men feel when they conceive themselves neglected or abandoned*.

This was the last action in which Captain Rodney was engaged previous to the termination of the war: he still, however, continued actively employed in the service of his country. In the month of March 1749, he was appointed to the Rainbow, a fourth-rate; and on the 9th May following, he was nominated governor and commander-in-chief of the Island of Newfoundland. In May 1751, he was chosen a representative in Parliament for the borough of Saltash; and in the ensuing year he was employed in search of an island said to have been discovered in latitude 50° N. about three hundred leagues west of Scilly. "The men at the mast-head were more than once deceived by those appearances which the sailors call fog-banks, and which appears to have been the best solution of the supposed discovery."

In the beginning of the year 1753, he was appointed to the Kent of 74 guns, stationed as a guardship at Portsmouth, which situation he continued to hold till 1755, when he was promoted to the Prince George of 90 guns†: but as that ship was not employed on any memorable or distinguished service, we do not find any particular mention made of Captain Rodney till April 1757, when he removed to the Dublin of 74 guns, and served under the command of Sir Edward Hawke in the fruitless and unfortunate expedition destined against Rochefort.

In the following year he was ordered to Louisbourg, under the command of Admiral Boscawen. But it appears that his having been concerned in this expedition was entirely accidental. The admiral sailed on the 18th February, when the Invincible, Captain Bentley, having missed stays, ran on a sand-bank to the east of St. Helens, and was unfortunately lost. The Dublin was immediately dispatched after the admiral to supply her place, and on her passage captured a French East Indiaman. With this service Captain Rodney closed his duty as a post-captain, having been appointed rear-admiral of the Blue in the month of June 1759, one of the most important years in the annals of Great Britain.

Notwithstanding France was at that period surrounded with difficulties, she put on the appearance of offensive operations: a degree of diligence

* Charnock.

† Some time previous to this he was returned by the electors of Northampton as M. P. for that borough.

and activity, hitherto unknown, was observable in her ports; vast magazines of stores were collected, and a fleet of flat-bottomed boats prepared, with which she meditated an invasion of Great Britain. But then, as in later times, the honour and success of the British arms were commensurate to the vigour, exertions, and abilities of her enemy. The first service Admiral Rodney was employed on after his elevation to a flag, was to crush these formidable preparations. He accordingly sailed with his squadron* from St. Helens on the morning of the 2d July, and anchored in the great road of Havre on the following day, when he immediately made the necessary preparations to bombard the place. The bombs were placed in the narrow channel of the river leading to Honfleur, that being the most proper, and indeed only situation from whence the expected destruction could be effected†; the ships of war being stationed so as to support and protect them. These preliminary arrangements being made, they began to throw their shells the next morning, and continued the bombardment, without intermission, for fifty-two hours, having thrown nineteen hundred shells and eleven hundred and fifty carcasses. So successfully was this service performed, that the town was repeatedly in flames; the grand magazine burnt with the greatest fury for six hours; and a considerable number of the boats were so much damaged, as to be rendered entirely useless. During the attack, the enemy's troops were continually employed in throwing up entrenchments, erecting new batteries, and firing at their assailants: the consternation of the inhabitants was so great, that they left the town in the greatest confusion. To complete the good fortune that attended the operations of this little armament, this success was achieved with very inconsiderable loss, though many of the enemy's shot and shells fell and burst among the bombs and boats.

Admiral Rodney having returned to port, and revictualed his squadron, resumed his station off Havre, to see if any further injury could be inflicted on the enemy; but nothing further could be effected. He,

* Achilles, 60 guns, { R. A. Rodney, Capt. Barrington.
Chatham, 50 guns, Capt. Lockhart.
Deptford, 50 guns, Capt. Halwall.
Iris, 50 guns, Capt. Wheeler.
Norwich, 50 guns, Capt. Darby.
Brilliant, 36 guns, Capt. H. Parker.
Juno, 36 guns, Capt. J. Phillips.
Vestal, 36 guns, Capt. S. Hood.
Boreas, 28 guns, Capt. R. Boyle.
Unicorn, 28 guns, Capt. T. Graves.
Wolfe, 16 guns, Capt. H. Bromedge.
Six bomb-ketches.

† Gazette letter.

however, still remained on the enemy's coast, keeping them in a constant state of alarm; capturing many neutral and other vessels going to Havre with naval and military stores, and rendering them incapable of making the smallest effort to repair the shattered remains of the preceding conflict. And " thus had he the happiness of totally frustrating the designs of the French court, and so completely ruined, not only the preparations, but the port itself as a naval arsenal, that it was no longer in a state to annoy Great Britain during the war."

During the year 1760, Admiral Rodney was employed in precisely the same line of duty; but the only opportunity he had of rendering essential service to his country was in the month of July, when five large flat-bottomed boats, loaded with cannon and shot, set sail in the middle of the day from Honfleur with the greatest confidence, and as if they intended to set the British squadron at defiance, having their colours flying, and " making all the extravagant parade frequently attendant on presumptive security." All the heights in and adjacent to Havre were covered with spectators, who were assembled to behold the issue of this adventure, and who were astonished to find that the English squadron made no kind of movement towards them. But Admiral Rodney knew it would be useless to make any attack on them until they had passed the river Orne*, as till then they had it in their power to take shelter in several small ports: he, however, kept his eye constantly on them, and gave directions to his squadron to have every thing ready to chase the moment he gave the signal. The enemy having reached Caen river, stood backwards and forwards on the shoals, with the evident intention of pushing for it under cover of darkness. To counteract this plan, the admiral gave directions to his small vessels to make all possible sail for the mouth of the river Orne the moment the day closed, and thereby cut off the enemy's retreat; while the remainder of the squadron proceeded with the utmost dispatch to the steep coast of Fort Bassin. This had the desired effect: the enemy was met by two of the squadron off Point Piercée, when, finding there was no chance of effecting their retreat, they ran ashore at Port Bassin, and were totally destroyed, together with the fort which had been erected for the protection of the harbour. The vigilance of Admiral Rodney, and the success attending his exertions, so dispirited the enemy, that they refrained from making any similar at-

* *Annual Register.*

tempt, and gave orders for unloading one hundred praams that were ready to sail, and laid them up at Rouen, as useless.

Admiral Rodney continued on this station the remainder of the year, but the extreme caution of the enemy prevented him from adding any thing to his own fame, or rendering any particular service to his country.

In the Parliament convened in 1761, he was elected member for the borough of Penrhyn.

At this time the West India Islands were the only commercial resources remaining to France, and as they formed a profitable source of trade to that kingdom, it was determined by the British government to direct the force of the country against those settlements, and to intrust the naval part of the operations to Admiral Rodney. The times were particularly favourable for such an enterprise: in Europe not a ship of the enemy attempted to put to sea; and in America the British arms had proved victorious in every encounter, had achieved every object for which the war was undertaken, and now waited fresh opportunities of signalizing their valour. Every thing being prepared which could give strength and ensure success to the expedition, the admiral sailed from Spithead on the 18th October, in the Marlborough, accompanied by the Vanguard, Modeste, Nottingham, and Syren, with one sloop and three bombs; having orders to proceed to the Leeward Islands, join the squadron under Sir James Douglas, and assume the chief command on that station. He arrived the beginning of November at Barbadoes, where the whole force destined to be employed was to be collected. He was shortly after joined by Commodore Barton and a convoy from Bellisle; and also by eleven battalions from New-York, under the command of General Moncton, an officer of great reputation, who had highly distinguished himself on the American continent, and who now assumed the chief command of the land forces. Having drawn such troops as could be spared from the different garrisons in the neighbouring islands, the army was found to consist of 13,950 men; and the fleet of fifteen sail of the line, four 50-gun ships, and twenty-three frigates and smaller vessels; and altogether formed an armament of such immense magnitude as had never before been seen in that part of the world*.

Every thing being now arranged, this formidable armament sailed from Carlisle Bay on the 5th January, and came to an anchor in St. Anne's Bay on the 8th, when Sir James Douglas stood close in with his

* *Annual Register.* Beatson.

division, and silenced the batteries, when a large body of troops was landed. It was, however, soon found that this situation was by no means calculated to enable them to make an effectual impression on the enemy: the plan of the operations was therefore changed, the army re-embarked, and on the 14th proceeded to Case des Navires Bay, when the admiral and general having reconnoitred the coast in person, determined to disembark the troops at a village between Point Negre and the Case la Pilote.

The batteries having been silenced, and the signal made for the troops to land, it was effected without the loss of a single man. But though the spirited and well-directed fire from the fleet had rendered the landing of the army a matter of very little difficulty, innumerable obstacles presented themselves on shore; the number of mountains, ravines, and rivulets with which the island abounded, being defended at every pass by troops and artillery. The nearer the army approached to the place where the first regular attack was prepared, the greater were the difficulties to be overcome. But in proportion as these difficulties increased, did the ardour and gallantry of the British forces animate them to the most noble exertions; and as the general determined to put his plan of operations into effect, the heavy artillery was landed, and a large body of seamen drew it, with incredible fortitude, coolness, and perseverance, the distance of three miles, exposed during the whole time to the fire of the enemy's batteries.

Every necessary disposition having been made, the assault commenced on the 24th January, and was maintained with such irresistible impetuosity, that they succeeded in every quarter, driving the enemy from post to post until the whole were successively carried. Such vigorous and decisive measures were pursued, that the whole colony fell into their possession on the 14th February. These successes having been obtained, detachments were sent against Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and all the other French possessions in those seas, the whole of which immediately passed under the dominion of Great Britain*.

* In consequence of these successes, Admiral Rodney was directed by the government of the day to make choice of three thousand acres in any of the conquered islands: but a change of administration happening before his arrival in England, the system of granting islands was put an end to; and he never was fortunate enough to succeed in his claim for this grant, although General Moncton, who commanded the troops, procured the same grant for the same service.

This was not the only disappointment he experienced on this occasion; and notwith-

The short period in which Martinique and the other islands were reduced, was a circumstance of almost as much consequence as the conquest itself; as the French government, knowing the importance of their West India possessions, and fearing that without some speedy and powerful assistance their fall would be inevitable, determined to make an effort for their relief; and accordingly fitted out a squadron of seven sail of the line and three frigates, from the harbour of Brest, having on board seven battalions of infantry, and other supplies of which the colonies stood in need. Had Admiral Rodney been apprised in time of the sailing of this squadron, in all probability the whole of them would have been taken or destroyed; but the first information the admiral received of the enemy, was on their arrival off the windward coast of Martinique on the 8th March. The English fleet was at this time much dispersed, a part being with Commodore Swanton, a part with Captain Hervey, and a part with Sir James Douglas. Having collected a sufficient force, the admiral went in pursuit of the enemy, but was not fortunate enough to fall in with them, as the French commander, finding the island had surrendered, again left the coast; shortly after which, the admiral received intelligence (conveyed to him by Captain Johnstone*), that the King of Spain had determined to join France in the war against England. He immediately gave orders for the capture of all Spanish vessels; and soon after, a tender, belonging to the Dublin, captured a Spanish packet-boat, conveying dispatches for the Spanish governors in the West Indies, advising them of the declaration of war. This was a most fortunate circumstance, as by that means they were kept for some time in entire ignorance of what was passing in Europe.

About the same time the admiral received a letter from the governor of Jamaica, informing him that Admiral Holmes, who had commanded on that station, was dead; that a squadron of Spanish ships of the line had arrived at the Havannah, and requesting him to send some ships and troops to their assistance, as they were under apprehensions of an attack from the combined force of the enemy.

No advice having been received from England, the general was at a loss how to proceed: the admiral, however, thought the emergency so

standing the brilliant termination of the expedition under his command, and though he received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament for his exertions, it was not till 1764 that he received any mark of his sovereign's approbation.

* Six weeks previous to his receiving the advice from England.

great, that he resolved to go himself, with a considerable part of his squadron; and being determined to block up the enemy in whatever port he should find him, dispatched a frigate to Captain Forrest (who commanded at Jamaica after the death of Admiral Holmes), and ordered him to join the fleet off St. Nicholas with all the ships he could muster. But before the admiral could put his plans into execution, he was joined by the Richmond frigate, Captain Elphinstone, from England, bringing orders for the admiral and general not to prosecute any design they might have planned, as his Majesty had thought proper to order a grand expedition to the West Indies, to favour which every other operation must give way*. Though he was thus prevented from joining in any important operation against the possessions of the enemy, he detached a strong squadron of ships under Sir James Douglas to Jamaica, for the preservation of that island, with orders to keep the whole ready for sea to join Sir George Pocock; and ordered another part of his fleet, under Commodore Swanton, to cruise off the Spanish Main. These precautions having been taken, the admiral retired to Martinique; and on the conclusion of the war he returned to England. On the 21st October he was advanced to be vice-admiral of the Blue; on the 21st January, 1764, he was raised to the dignity of a baronet; and in the month of November 1765, he was appointed governor of Greenwich Hospital.

On the dissolution of the Parliament in 1768, Sir George offered himself a candidate for the town of Nottingham, against Mr. Howe; and which he carried after a strong and expensive contest, by which he very considerably impaired his fortune. In October 1770, he was progressively advanced to be vice-admiral of the White and Red squadrons; and in August 1771, to be rear-admiral of Great Britain.

In the early part of the year he resigned the government of Greenwich Hospital, and was soon after appointed commander-in-chief on the Jamaica station; whither he repaired, having his flag on board the Princess Amelia of 80 guns. The appointment of this ship to that station was intended as a particular and pointed compliment, it being extremely unusual to send a three-decked ship on that station, except in time of actual war†. It is said that the command in India was offered to him, which he declined, entertaining hopes of being appointed governor of Jamaica‡. In this, however, Sir George was disappointed; and on his return to

* Beatson. † Charnock. ‡ Beatson.

England, at the expiration of the usual period of service, he was under the necessity, from the pecuniary embarrassments under which he was then labouring, to retire to France, and thus "became an exile amid a people whose government had trembled at his name." It was during this seclusion that the unfortunate war broke out between the British colonies in America and the mother country; a war by far the most dangerous to the British nation of any in which she ever was involved.

Some time after this, Sir George was enabled, through the liberal loan of a French nobleman, to return to England, and solicit a command in her service. He did not, however, receive any appointment till the end of the year 1779*, when he was nominated to the chief command on the Leeward Island station, and hoisted his flag at Portsmouth on board the Sandwich of 90 guns, at a period when the steadiness of the patriot, the fidelity of allegiance, and a true regard for the country, were more than commonly called for.

Hitherto this unfortunate war had been conducted without any brilliant or decisive advantage on either side; but in the year 1779, the naval character of England was greatly tarnished by the circumstance of the combined fleets of France and Spain having sailed up the Channel, insulted her coasts, and bid defiance to her whole navy. Other important circumstances also occupied the government of England: ever since the commencement of the war with Spain that monarchy had invested the fortress of Gibraltar, and entertained hopes of being able to reduce it before any arrivals could come to its assistance; and as it was now enduring great hardships for want of provisions, it was determined to take advantage of Sir George Rodney's being appointed to the West India command, and make a great effort for the relief of that important garrison. The force intended to proceed with Sir George to his ultimate destination was to consist of the Sandwich, Ajax, Terrible, and Montagu; but as this squadron would have been totally incapable of effecting this second object, Sir George was reinforced by eighteen sail of the line, under Admirals Digby and Ross, who were to return to England as soon as the first object should be accomplished. This formidable squadron put to sea the latter end of December 1779, under the confident expectation that the ensuing year would open with some decisive

* On January 29, 1778, during his residence in France, he was appointed to be admiral of the White.

advantage, to wipe off the disgrace which had fallen on the British flag, and indicate some return of that naval renown which had so long been the pride of the English name and nation. Nor was this hope disappointed; for the court of Spain, deceived by the promptitude and secrecy of the expedition, dispatched a force of eleven sail of the line, under Admiral Langara, off Cape St. Vincent, in hopes of being able to intercept Sir George Rodney, understanding that Admirals Digby and Ross were to proceed with their squadron no farther than Cape Finisterre. On the 8th January, Sir George fell in with a Spanish convoy of sixteen sail from St. Sebastian's, bound to Cadiz, under the protection of the Guipuscoa of 64 guns*, four frigates, and two corvettes; the whole of which he captured without the smallest resistance. The value of this capture was greatly enhanced by the nature of the cargoes, which were found to consist principally of flour and naval stores; the former of which he took with him to Gibraltar, and the latter he sent to England, where they were much wanted. This, however, was only a prelude to still greater success. Pursuing his course, he fell in with Don Langara's squadron on the 16th of the same month, off Cape St. Vincent, and immediately made the signal for a line of battle abreast, the convoy in the rear; but as the enemy appeared determined to avoid an engagement, and as they were assisted in these endeavours by the vicinity of their own coasts, Sir George hauled down the signal for a line of battle abreast, and hoisted that for a general chase; the ships to take the leegage, and engage as they came up. As the day was far advanced before the last signals were made, some apprehension was entertained that the enemy would effect their escape in the approaching darkness; but notwithstanding the late hour at which the Spanish fleet was discovered, the headmost ships began the engagement about four o'clock. The enemy fought with great spirit, and returned the fire with considerable effect. About a quarter before five, one of the Spanish ships (the St. Domingo) blew up with a dreadful explosion: the sea was agitated by the shock, and the pieces of wreck flew in all directions. Night now closed on the contending fleets, but the action still continued, and the horrors of the conflict were increased by a most tempestuous sea. About two in the morning the headmost of the enemy's ships struck, on which all firing

* Sir George commissioned the Guipuscoa, and named her the Prince William, in honour of Prince William Henry (now Duke of Clarence), who was then a midshipman on board the Prince George, Admiral Digby's ship.

ceased, and the admiral made the signal to bring to. At this time the fleet was so much entangled on a lee shore, that it was with the utmost difficulty they could clear the shoals off St. Lucar: indeed such were the peculiar circumstances attending this engagement, that notwithstanding the inferiority of the enemy's force, few actions have required a higher degree of intrepidity, more consummate skill, or greater dexterity of seamanship. On the return of daylight, the victorious fleet was discovered, many of them considerably damaged, several of the prizes dismasted, and the whole requiring the utmost attention to extricate them from their perilous situation: this, however, was happily effected, with the exception of two of the prizes, the St. Eugenio and St. Julian; the former of which drifted on some breakers, and was afterwards got off by the Spaniards; the latter ran ashore near St. Mary's, and was entirely lost. The result of the action was, however, glorious and decisive; besides those already enumerated as being destroyed, four sail of the line, including the flag-ship of the Spanish admiral, remained in possession of the victors: the remainder escaped into the port of Cadiz.

Sir George was highly pleased with the conduct and bravery evinced by the admirals, captains, officers, seamen, and marines of the squadron under his command, on the above occasion; and in his public letter he says, " They seemed actuated with the same spirit, and were anxiously eager to exert themselves with the utmost zeal to serve his Majesty, and to humble the pride of his enemies."

Having rejoined his convoy, he sent two frigates ahead to apprise the governor of Gibraltar of his approach. The wind, however, proved so bad, and the current so strong, that nearly a week elapsed before the whole could get in; when the stores, provisions, and ammunition were landed with the greatest dispatch. Thus was this important fortress relieved, and " thus far did victory again smile on the British flag."

On the news of these successes arriving in England, it gave universal satisfaction, and coming at a most critical moment, it was productive of several advantages. It contributed greatly to raise the spirit of the people of England, and to lower that of France and Spain, where hopes were entertained of striking such a blow at the opening of the campaign, by the union of the two navies, as would at once terminate the war and the political importance of Britain.

The importance of these operations, therefore, acquired Sir George the highest degree of popularity; and he accordingly received the thanks

of both Houses of Parliament, in which Lord Howe and Admiral Keppel expressed their perfect concurrence, declaring that his success was complete, that the superiority of his fleet did not detract from the glory of his victory, that he had difficulties to contend with which he had bravely surmounted, and that he had performed his duty like a seaman. Sir George also received the freedom of the cities of London and Edinburgh, the former in a gold box, value one hundred guineas; and at the general election which took place in the month of September following, he was, though absent, chosen member of Parliament for the city of Westminster.

Having fulfilled the first part of his instructions, Sir George lost no time in proceeding to his command in the West Indies; and on the 14th February, animated with victory and covered with glory, he sailed for that destination on board the Sandwich, accompanied by the Ajax, Montagu, and Invincible; the rest of the fleet and prizes proceeding to England, under the command of Admiral Digby.

He arrived in the West Indies without meeting the smallest occurrence worthy of record; and on the 27th March, joined Rear-Admiral Hyde Parker at St. Lucia, from whom he learned that the enemy's fleet had for several days been parading in sight of the island, and had only a few hours previous to his arrival retired to Martinique.

Sir George having taken upon himself the command of the whole fleet, proceeded in quest of the enemy, whom he found in Fort Royal Bay, off which he continued two days, offering them battle, and at times going so near as to count their guns, and within random shot of the batteries; but as no provocation seemed likely to induce the French admiral to accept it, Sir George returned to St. Lucia.

As the enemy meditated an attack on some of the British colonies, they considered the present a favourable opportunity to carry their design into execution; and accordingly sailed during the night of the 15th. Intelligence of this circumstance being brought to Sir George, he immediately put to sea, and used such dispatch, that the enemy were discovered the following day. Signal was instantly given for a general chase, and about sunset their force was distinctly made out to consist of twenty-three sail of the line, one of 50 guns, and three frigates. M. de Guichen having indicated his intention of avoiding an engagement, Sir George determined, if possible, to counteract him, and placed two frigates between the two squadrons, to watch the motions of the enemy during the night.

On the following morning, an extraordinary degree of skill and judgment was displayed on both sides; but M. de Guichen, finding that he could not avoid an action, prepared to engage. It was the intention of Admiral Rodney to bring all his force against the enemy's rear, and thus cut off that part of the squadron, or oblige their commander to engage him upon his own terms; for which purpose he made the necessary signals early in the morning. About eleven o'clock the signal was thrown out to prepare for battle, which was soon followed by that to bear down and engage the enemy, and also that for close action; but these signals appear to have been misunderstood by some of the captains, and a more general action took place than what he intended: the consequence was, that the line became too much extended, and while some of the ships were scarcely engaged, others had two or three opponents. This was more particularly the case with Admiral Rodney's own ship, who set a most noble example to those under him, and having obliged three of the enemy's ships to quit the line, dropped along side the French admiral, though supported by his two seconds, ahead and astern. Notwithstanding this disparity of force, Sir George maintained the unequal conflict for an hour and a half, when the French admiral bore away: their line was broken, and to use the words of Sir George, they might be said to be completely beaten; but such was the distance of the van and rear divisions of the British squadron, owing to the misconstruction of the signals, that advantage could not be taken of this success by an immediate pursuit.

Several ships of the British squadron were greatly damaged in this contest, and none more so than the Sandwich, which, for twenty-four hours, was with difficulty kept above water; and yet in another twenty-four hours, owing to the zeal and activity of the officers and men, she was again fit for action, and the pursuit continued with unabated ardour: but the light winds and leeward situation of his fleet prevented his coming up with the enemy. Sir George, however, who knew the destination of the French admiral was Martinique, placed his squadron in such a situation, as effectually to cut him off from that island, unless he chose to risk a second engagement; but as he was determined to avoid that alternative, he took shelter under the batteries of Gaudaloupe. Nothing can afford a stronger proof of victory, than this determination of the enemy, although unfortunately it was not accompanied by those substantial consequences usually attendant on success.

In this action Sir George was much dissatisfied with some of his offi-

cers, particularly Captains Bateman and Carket; the former of whom he brought to a court-martial, which sentenced him to be dismissed the service; and the latter he severely reprimanded by letter. It also became the subject of conversation in the House of Lords, where papers were moved as explanatory of the circumstance; and it having been reported that Sir George was to be recalled, Lord Sandwich declared that such reports were entirely false; that whoever should advise his Majesty to remove so able a man, could not be a friend to his country. "I have written," said he, "to the admiral, and though I am not in the habit of writing panegyrics, my letter to the gallant officer was one continued panegyric from beginning to end*. When it was first proposed in council

* The following is a copy of the letter alluded to:

ADMIRALTY, May 29, 1780.

DEAR SIR,—Every time we hear from you, we receive fresh cause to approve your conduct: if you go on in the same style, you will oblige me to study how to write panegyrics, which, till of late, I have had but little occasion to practise.

You will probably receive so much applause by this conveyance from all quarters, that I will not tease you with a repetition of the encomiums that are so justly your due, and will only thank you for the credit I have gained by having recommended so able and distinguished an officer to the command, in which you have done yourself so much honour, and your country such essential service: this merit, however, the Opposition are willing to rob me of, as Colonel Barré declared yesterday in the House of Commons, that you were not named by me, but forced upon me by some other quarter. I think if you had been upon the spot you would have fully refuted that assertion.

It is painful to me to enter into the contents of the letter you have written to me, as my indignation equals yours, when I reflect that so noble an example as you set to those under you did not stimulate them to emulate your conduct. I hope you will not be fearful of pointing out the persons you think deserving of censure: in this you will have all the world on your side, as we shall not be satisfied, unless those are brought to shame and punishment who have robbed you of the glory of destroying a considerable part of the naval force of France, though you gave them battle with an inferior fleet, and many of your ships scarce fit to keep the sea.

I cannot wish you any thing more favourable than that you may go on as you have begun: if you pursue my advice in that particular (which I have every reason in the world to think you will), you will probably be raised to as high a pitch of honour as any of the most distinguished characters in our naval annals; which must give inexpressible happiness to your friends, and to none more than

Your most obedient and most faithful servant,

(Signed,) SANDWICH.

Sir GEORGE BRIDGES RODNEY, *Bart.*

PALL-MALL, May 28, 1780.

Extracts from a private Letter from Lord GEORGE GERMAINE *to Sir* GEO. BRIDGES RODNEY.

MY DEAR SIR,—I congratulate with you very sincerely upon the great honour you have gained in the engagement on the 17th April. * * * * * * * * * * *

to employ Sir George, I, who had known him from a very young man, declared that Rodney, once afloat, will do his duty. How then can any man for a moment think of removing him from a command, after the repeated proofs he has given that he is so well qualified to hold it?"

Sir George finding M. de Guichen was resolved to remain in his present situation rather than encounter the British squadron, proceeded off Martinique, in the hope that his absence would induce the enemy to venture out, and that he should thereby have an opportunity to intercept them. But M. de Guichen not making his expected appearance, and the lee currents, joined to the bad condition of some of the ships, induced Sir George to quit his station and return to St. Lucia, taking the precaution to dispatch frigates to windward and leeward of all the islands, so that he might have the earliest intelligence of the enemy's movements.

Having been informed of the enemy's approach, he again put to sea, and on the 10th May discovered their fleet to windward of Martinique: but notwithstanding their superiority of numbers, and the settled advantage of the wind, they so studiously avoided an engagement, as baffled all the skill and judgment of the British admiral. The enemy, aware of the advantages which they possessed, seemed to increase in confidence, and at times bore down upon their opponents as if they intended to risk an action, but on approaching within random shot, invariably hauled their wind, and regained their usual distance. Mortified at the repeated disappointments he experienced in endeavouring to bring the enemy to an action, Sir George determined on having recourse to artifice: for this purpose, during one of their accustomed manœuvres on the 15th, he directed his fleet by signal to make all possible sail on a wind, which being mistaken by M. de Guichen as an indication of flight, he approached much nearer than usual. In this delusion they were allowed to remain till their van ships got abreast of the British centre, when the wind fortunately changing, and favouring Sir George's design, he made the signal for the van, under Rear-Admiral Rowley, to tack and gain the wind of the enemy. The French fleet instantly wore and fled with a press of sail.

I cannot finish this letter without again assuring you, that your conduct sets you high in the esteem of your profession, and of that of the public, and that the king expresses his approbation of you in the most flattering and obliging terms. I hope I need not assure you of the interest I take in whatever relates to your honour and happiness.

I am, dear sir, with great regard, your faithful humble servant,

GEO. GERMAINE.

Sir George, however, had now in part succeeded in his object, and immediately crowded all sail in chase of the enemy, whom he hoped soon to bring to a close and decided action; but in this fond expectation he was again disappointed when nearly up with them, by a sudden change of six points in the wind, which enabled the enemy to recover their former advantage. Perhaps there is no instance can be cited to prove more strongly the fickleness of fortune and the instability of naval service, than the one we have just recorded. For six days the British admiral had pursued the enemy with all the ardour natural to an English officer; he had tried them on every point of sailing; and at last, by superior skill and seamanship, he attained the situation he so anxiously sought for, and he had no doubt of obtaining a complete and decisive victory, when fortune came to the assistance of the enemy, and prevented him from reaping the fruit of his exertions. They, however, were not able to prevent their rear from a conflict with the British van, led by Captain Bowyer in the Albion, who, having reached the centre of their line, brought them to action, and alone sustained the fire of several heavy ships, until Rear-Admiral Rowley in the Conqueror, and one or two others, could come to his assistance.

The two fleets kept in sight of each other till the 19th, when Sir George made another vigorous but unsuccessful effort to weather his opponent; but although this was not attended with the desired effect, their rear was again brought to action by the English van, led by Commodore Hotham, who attacked them with great spirit and resolution, and in which they suffered severely.

The pursuit continued till the 21st, when the enemy, from their swiftness of sailing, were entirely out of sight; and as the state of several of his ships would not permit Sir George to continue any longer this hopeless pursuit, he proceeded to Barbadoes; where he received intelligence that a Spanish squadron of twelve sail of the line, with eighty-three transports, having near 12,000 troops on board, had sailed from Cadiz for the West Indies. Sir George, therefore, revictualed his squadron with all possible expedition, and again put to sea, in hopes of intercepting them, previous to their forming a junction with M. de Guichen; in which he would most certainly have succeeded, had not the Spanish admiral altered his course, and instead of going to Fort Royal, the appointed place of rendezvous, kept to the northward, and put into Gaudaloupe, from

whence he dispatched a fast-sailing vessel to Martinique, to acquaint De Guichen of his arrival, and request he would join him with all speed. This having been effected, the combined fleet amounted to thirty-six sail of the line, which rendered them so decidedly superior, that, notwithstanding the valour and skill of the officers and seamen of the British squadron, Sir George was compelled to remain inactive until the arrival of some reinforcements, which he daily expected, should enable him to act again on the offensive.

During the state of inactivity to which the British admiral was reduced, he retired to the Island of St. Lucia, where he was well situated for observing the movements of the enemy, and ready to counteract, as far as his limited means would allow, any operation they might undertake against the English settlements, or repel any attack that their superiority might prompt them to make on the British squadron. They did not, however, venture to molest him, which it has since appeared was owing to a difference of opinion between the Spanish and French admirals, and a pestilence which raged on board the Spanish transports. On the 5th July they left Martinique, and proceeded in company as far as St. Domingo, when M. de Guichen put into Cape François, while Don Salano continued his course to the Havannah. Commodore Walsingham having arrived with a reinforcement of some ships of the line, and also some troops, from England, Sir George dispatched ten sail of the line, under Rear-Admiral Rowley and Commodore Walsingham, together with the troops, for Jamaica, keeping the remainder to watch the movements of M. de Guichen, who shortly after left the West Indies, with a large fleet of merchantmen under his convoy. Understanding that the French admiral, after seeing the convoy to a certain latitude, was to proceed to North America, to co-operate with the French squadron under M. de Ternay in an attack upon New-York, Sir George determined to follow him with ten sail of the line. But on his arrival at that port, he found that this effort of zeal for the public service might have been dispensed with, as M. de Guichen, contrary to the general expectations of the Americans, had sailed for France.

Nothing of material consequence occurred to Sir George, or the squadron under his command, during his stay in America. Having returned to the West Indies, he consulted with General Vaughan on the probability of making an easy conquest of St. Vincent, which was reported

to be almost defenceless; and it having been determined to make the attempt, the general embarked with three hundred men on the 14th December, and was landed on the island on the 16th. But it was soon found that the accounts of the distressed state of the island were greatly exaggerated, and that their forces were quite inadequate for such an enterprise: they were therefore re-embarked without molestation*.

Soon after this unsuccessful attempt, Sir S. Hood arrived with seven sail of the line from England, and was soon followed by dispatches, announcing the rupture with Holland, and directing the admiral and general to proceed against the Dutch settlements in the West Indies. The most important of these possessions was the Island of St. Eustatia, which, though not twenty miles in circumference, barren and contemptible in itself, had long been considered the grand depôt for the merchandise of all nations; and which, under cover of its neutrality, had long supplied the enemies of Great Britain with all sorts of naval and military stores.

On the 3d February, 1781, the British forces appeared suddenly before the island, and immediately dispatched a summons to the governor for the surrender of the island and its dependencies, with every thing belonging thereto. Nothing could exceed the astonishment of M. de Graafe on the receipt of this message, who being totally ignorant of any declaration of war, and incapable of making the smallest resistance, surrendered the colony without delay.

The wealth found in this place was so prodigious as to excite the astonishment even of the conquerors. The value of the merchandise alone was estimated at upwards of three millions sterling, exclusive of the shipping, which amounted to one hundred and fifty sail of merchantmen, many of them richly laden, besides a frigate of 38 guns, and five smaller vessels of war, the whole of which were immediately confiscated for the use of his Majesty. Sir George also received information that a fleet of thirty sail had left St. Eustatia a few hours previous to his arrival, under convoy of a flag-ship of 60 guns; when he immediately dispatched Captain Reynolds with the Monarch, Panther, and Sibyl in pursuit. Captain Reynolds came up with the enemy the following day, and after a short action, the whole convoy fell into his possession. The Dutch colours

* On the 14th November, 1780, his Majesty conferred a special mark of his approbation on Sir George Rodney, by nominating him a supernumerary knight companion of the Bath, there being at that time no vacant stall.

being kept flying at Fort Orange, many other vessels were decoyed into the harbour, and increased the general booty*.

This was the severest blow the enemy had sustained during the whole war, and operated alike on the French, Spaniards, and Dutch; but of all the sufferers the least to be pitied were some British merchants, who made no scruple of sacrificing the interests of their country, and of furnishing her avowed enemies with the certain means of her destruction. From many letters found in some prize-ships, it was discovered that a treasonable correspondence had been carried on between some British subjects and the revolted colonies in North America, which induced the admiral and general to set on foot a strict inquiry into the state of facts, in order that they might bring to condign punishment such persons who should be found implicated in so foul a crime; when two persons were apprehended, and sent prisoners to England in custody of Commodore Hotham. "In consequence of these practices being discovered, the British commanders were obliged to adopt measures that were censured by some with great asperity; but if the papers they sent home had been fairly laid before the public, such base conduct would have appeared, as would have justified the steps to which they had deemed it expedient to have recourse. From these it would have been clearly seen, that the measures which they adopted were indispensably necessary to the preservation of the conquest which they had made, and to the prevention of the same pernicious system of commerce that had been carried on at St. Eustatia. By such striking proofs all vague declamation against them would have been silenced, and an unprejudiced public would have been led to applaud their conduct†."

Notwithstanding the powerful confederacy formed by the house of Bourbon, aided by the republic of Holland, for the destruction of Great Britain, she seemed to gather fresh strength by the increase of her enemies, and maintained the unequal combat with such courage and perseverance, as excited the surprise and astonishment of the whole world. With a decided superiority of ships and of men, the enemy were unable

* Soon after intelligence of this success was received in England, his Majesty was pleased to settle an annuity of one thousand pounds on Sir George, five hundred on Lady Rodney, one thousand on his eldest son, and one hundred on each of the younger children.

† Sir George at the close of the year returned to England, and there, in his place in Parliament, entered into a full justification of his conduct, and fairly refuted the charges that were brought against him.

to wrest from her that naval renown which she had so long possessed, and which is due only to superior skill and exertion.

The close of the year 1780 had left France enfeebled and disappointed, not only in America, but in the West Indies; and the naval campaign of the ensuing year opened with the most decided success against her Dutch ally. To retrieve their disgraces, and in hopes of being able to collect such a force as should defeat all opposition, the government of France, during the winter months, used every exertion to repair their marine, and enable it to return to a fresh trial of skill and fortune with that of Great Britain.

About the end of March 1781, the Count de Grasse sailed from Brest at the head of twenty sail of the line and two 50-gun ships, with a fleet of merchantmen and transports of near three hundred sail, on board of which were 6000 land forces, destined for Martinique.

As soon as Sir George received information of the sailing of this armament from Europe, Sir Samuel Hood was detached with eighteen sail of the line, to intercept and bring them to action before they could form a junction with the squadron at Martinique. Unfortunately, however, the information which Sir George received as to the strength of the enemy proved erroneous; joined to which, the British squadron was driven so far to leeward, that the enemy's ships escaped from Martinique, and joined the Count de Grasse, who, after sustaining a distant cannonade with Sir Samuel Hood, effected his passage to Fort Royal.

The result of this encounter being communicated to Sir George, he put to sea with his two remaining ships, the Sandwich and the Triumph; and having formed a junction with Sir Samuel Hood, and supplied the squadron with such stores and provisions as they stood in need of, received information that the enemy had attacked the Island of St. Lucia with a very formidable fleet and army: he therefore shaped his course for that island; but being informed that De Grasse had abandoned the attempt, he put into Barbadoes, where he learned that the enemy had sent a small squadron against the Island of Tobago: he therefore detached Rear-Admiral Drake with six sail of the line, and a reinforcement of troops under General Skeene, for their protection. But it afterwards appeared that De Grasse, having failed in his attack upon St. Lucia, had directed his whole force against Tobago; and on Admiral Drake's arrival off the island, he found it impossible to execute his commission, and therefore rejoined Admiral Rodney at Barbadoes, who immediately hastened with

his whole force to the succour of the island, off which he arrived on the night of the 3d June, but found, to his great surprise and regret, that it had surrendered on the preceding day. He now stood to the northward, and on the afternoon of the 5th discovered the enemy's fleet to leeward, steering for the Grenadilloes. Before sunset, the British squadron considerably neared that of the enemy, but their situation was such as to render it impossible to attack them with any probability of success. From the superiority of the enemy's numbers, Sir George had little doubt that they would risk an engagement: he therefore kept to windward of St. Vincent during the night, and gave orders that all the lights of his fleet should be made as conspicuous as possible. The ships were cleared for action with the greatest alacrity, and both officers and seamen expressed an eagerness and an impatience, from which the most important results were expected. But the enemy still persevered in that line of conduct which they had hitherto followed, of declining all contest where success was in the least doubtful; and in the morning they were not to be seen: they tacked during the night and put into Tobago, from whence they afterwards proceeded to Martinique.

Finding that the enemy continued to avoid an action with as much solicitude as ever, and having sent a reinforcement of troops to St. Lucia, Sir George proceeded to Barbadoes; and in the beginning of July was informed that De Grasse had sailed from Fort Royal with twenty-five sail of the line, two 50-gun ships, three armed en flute, five frigates, and nearly two hundred sail of merchantmen. As Sir George was informed they were gone to co-operate with their American allies, he sent to the governors of Jamaica and New-York, to apprize them of the circumstance and put them on their guard; and at the same time gave orders to Sir S. Hood to proceed to New-York with the greatest part of the fleet. It was the intention of the admiral to go himself to North America, but his state of health was such, that he found it necessary to avail himself of his Majesty's permission to return to England for his recovery. Finding his own ship was not in a condition to make the voyage, and that it was necessary the Gibraltar should return to England to be refitted, he hoisted his flag on board of her, and sailed for Europe August 1, 1781: having previously given instructions that the garrisons of the different islands should be on their guard against any surprise; that the island of St. Eustatia should never be without three frigates for its protection; and that the 250,000*l.* in cash, arising from the sales of

the merchandise captured in the island, and then in the hands of the agents, should be shipped on board Sir Samuel Hood's squadron, and conveyed to New-York for the payment of the troops. But these orders were never attended to; and on the 26th November, the island was surprised and taken by a body of French troops under the command of M. de Bouillie, when the whole of the money fell into the hands of the enemy. Several of the most valuable ships sent to England under Commodore Hotham were intercepted by a French squadron; and thus the prize-money arising from the capture of St. Eustatia, and which, from the circumstance of his Majesty having given up all claim to the chief part of the booty, was expected to be immense, dwindled down to a mere trifle.

Immediately on Sir George's arrival in England, his conduct relative to the confiscation of the property at St. Eustatia became the subject of inquiry in the House of Commons. It had been the subject of debate during the preceding session, but was then negatived, on account of the absence of the naval and military commanders.

On the 4th December, Mr. Burke moved, "That the House resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, in order to inquire into the confiscation of the effects, wares, and merchandise belonging to his Majesty's new subjects in the Island of St. Eustatia; and further, to inquire into the sale, distribution, and mode of conveyance of a great part of the said effects, wares, and merchandise, to the islands belonging to France, and to the other ports of the dominions of his Majesty's enemies." This was supported with the usual ability of the mover, seconded by all the talent of his political friends; but from the charges brought against him, Sir George fully vindicated himself, and they were finally negatived. After a short preface, he said, that "when he appeared off St. Eustatia, it was for the purpose of cutting off supplies from the enemy, and with a fixed resolution not to grant any terms to the inhabitants. The Dutch, though the nominal friends of this country, had, during the course of his command in the West Indies, been the friends of her enemies. To punish and check both, nothing had appeared more effectual than the reduction of an island, the inhabitants of which were animated with a rooted aversion to us, and the most cordial regard for our enemies. Among these inhabitants there were many who, while they called themselves Englishmen, were not ashamed to disgrace themselves and their country, by assisting her enemies with the means to wound

her: such people deserved no favour, and to them he resolved to shew none. But when he seized all the property on the island, it was not for his own use; at the time, and ever since, he thought it would all belong to the king, and that it was his duty to see the most made of it, to carry into the public treasure: he wished not for a shilling of it. He had no other idea at that time but that the whole belonged of right to the country; and therefore in all he had done for the preservation of that property, it was for his country, and not for himself, that he had been acting. The honourable member charged him with having suffered the stores, provisions, &c. to be carried into the enemy's ports, directly or circuitously through the neutral islands: but THIS WAS THE VERY REVERSE OF TRUTH; for he had given orders that none of the stores or provisions should be sold, but sent to his Majesty's yard at Antigua. So strict had he been in this respect, that he was not satisfied with examining the clearance of every ship that went out, but caused her to anchor under his stern, that she might be examined by commissioned officers; and if she had more provisions on board than were necessary for the voyage, they were always taken out. So much for the manner of sale and confiscation of property belonging to people who had supplied the Americans with every article necessary for fitting out a ship, they themselves being barely able to build the hull and put in the masts. He had been charged with remaining inactive for three months at Eustatia: his answer was, that during that time he had planned two expeditions, which he was just on the point of putting into execution, the one against Curaçoa, the other against Surinam, when he received advice from the commander of a convoy, by a quick-sailing vessel, that he had seen ten or twelve French ships of the line, with about seventy transports, steering for Martinique, and that he had kept them in sight for two days. This intelligence made him renounce his designs against the Dutch settlements, and he dispatched Sir Samuel Hood with fifteen* sail of the line, to cruise in the track of Martinique. Sir Samuel Hood was as good an officer, if not better, than himself, and therefore there was no crime in dispatching him on that service; and he thought fifteen ships were quite able to fight ten or twelve. Unfortunately, the intelligence had not been true with regard to the real number of the enemy; and Sir Samuel Hood had been driven so far to leeward, that he could not prevent the ships in Fort Royal from getting out to join De Grasse. This, however, was not a fault; it was

* Sir Samuel was afterwards joined by three others.

unavoidable. His instructions had been good: he had ordered the island to be blocked up, and that frigates should be placed 10, 15, 20, 30, 40, 50 leagues from the shore, in the track of the enemy. As to the ships he had detained at St. Eustatia, the Sandwich and the Triumph were at the time in so bad a condition, that he intended to send them home with the first convoy. As soon as he heard of the affair between Sir S. Hood and the Count de Grasse, he joined the fleet, with a determination to renew the action, if the enemy would give him a fair opportunity of doing it. When the French landed at St. Lucia, he undoubtedly would have had the desired opportunity to come to action, if intelligence had not been conveyed to the enemy that he was approaching. A letter had been sent to M. de Grasse with that advice, and a duplicate of it soon followed: the first reached its address; the second was intercepted. The contents were, that the English were doubling Guadaloupe, and in twenty-four hours would be upon the French fleet with their whole force. This put an end to what De Grasse called his feint against St. Lucia, for before daybreak he embarked his troops and sailed away.

"With regard to Tobago, as soon as he had heard that it had been attacked, he immediately sent Rear-Admiral Drake with six sail of the line to relieve it. This he thought a sufficient force, as he understood that the descent had been covered only by two or three ships of the line: the six he sent against them were the best sailers, in the best condition of any in the fleet, and all copper-bottomed. When he found the whole of the enemy's fleet were at sea, he was obliged to watch their movements: they endeavoured to allure him to leeward, but if he had attempted to follow them, Barbadoes would have fallen; he therefore was obliged to keep to windward, still determined to succour the island. He dispatched to Tobago three officers in three different vessels: two of them fell into the hands of the enemy; the third got to the house of a planter, and there, to his great surprise, learned that the island had surrendered two days before. It was further told by him, that 10,000 men could not retake it. At this time the two fleets were in sight of the island. As to the charge brought by the governor of Tobago, all he would add to what he had already said, was, that the guns he had sent the year before for the defence of the island, had never been mounted.—As to the disaster in America, he would tell the House what steps he had taken to prevent it. He had sent to the commander-in-chief at Jamaica, ordering him to dispatch the Prince William and Torbay to America with the greatest ex-

pedition; and he sent also to the commander-in-chief in America, desiring he would collect his whole force, and meet him with it off the Capes of Virginia; requesting him, if he could not meet him, he would let him know by one of his frigates. No answer had, however, been sent to him or Sir S. Hood, for he himself was so unwell, that he was coming home. He had sent twice to the admiral at Jamaica, and three times to the admiral at New-York. One of his three dispatches miscarried, the vessel that conveyed it being forced on shore by some privateers; and from that circumstance he had learned always in future to keep copies of every dispatch, for of that he had none. If the admiral in America had been fortunate enough to meet Sir S. Hood near the Chesapeake, the probability was, that De Grasse would have been defeated, and the surrender of Lord Cornwallis prevented.

"The last charge was, that he had brought home the Gibraltar: the fact was, she was in a very bad condition, and he had not been without his fears he should not have been able to have got her home; for, by some error at Plymouth before she went out last, a part of the iron of the rudder had been wasted, from the size of his arm to that of his finger; and though perhaps the finest two-decker in the world, it was with difficulty she was preserved."

On the 6th November, in consequence of the death of Lord Hawke, Sir George was advanced to be vice-admiral of Great Britain; and in a short time afterwards was reappointed to the West India command. His health having been re-established, and the reinforcement he was to take with him being ready, he sailed from Spithead on the 13th December, but was detained by contrary winds in Cawsand Bay till the 14th January, 1782; when he again sailed, and on the 19th February arrived at Barbadoes.

The grand object of the enemy was now, as it hitherto had been, the reduction of Jamaica; and though they had failed in accomplishing it, they trusted that this campaign would place it in their possession. For this purpose, the French commanders had collected their whole force at Martinique, consisting of thirty-six sail of the line, and 6000 troops; and only waited the arrival of a convoy of naval and military stores from France, to put their designs in execution. To intercept this reinforcement, Sir George put to sea, and that there might be as little chance as possible of the enemy's escape, he formed his fleet in a line to windward of the French islands, stretching from the latitude of Deseada to that of

St. Vincent*, while his frigates extended still further in the track of vessels coming from Europe; so that it was thought impossible for them to avoid capture: but notwithstanding the judicious disposition of the fleet, and the vigilance of the commanders, the convoy, by getting to leeward of the British squadron, and keeping close under Dominique, effected their entrance into Fort Royal.

In consequence of this unlooked-for disappointment, the British admiral returned to St. Lucia, with a determination to follow the enemy the moment he should hear of his sailing; for which purpose he kept the squadron constantly ready for sea, and, as usual, distributed his frigates in such a way as would enable him to obtain the earliest intelligence of their movements.

The design of the Count de Grasse was to proceed with all the diligence in his power to Hispaniola, where he was to join the forces under the Spanish admiral, and whose united strength would have been so superior, as to bid defiance to any exertions of the British admiral, whose situation was now full of danger and alarm. Not only did the preservation of Jamaica and the other West India Islands depend upon the successful exertions of the fleet under his command, but the interest of the empire demanded that the enemy should be defeated, as nothing but the most complete and decisive victory could prevent the nation from falling into that degradation with which she was then threatened. Not only were her power and pre-eminence at stake, but her existence as an independent nation, which she had to defend against enemies who were actuated by every motive of policy, ambition, and resentment. A most important crisis was therefore now approaching, and at no period of our history did there ever depend so much upon the issue of a naval combat.

To the great satisfaction of the English squadron, they were informed by signal on the 8th April, that the French fleet was getting under way; which being communicated to Sir George, he immediately sailed after them with thirty-six sail of the line; the enemy's fleet consisting of thirty-two, with two of 50 guns. The pursuit was continued with such diligence and ardour, that they obtained a sight of the French squadron that night, under the Island of Dominique, where both fleets were becalmed, and consequently prevented from making any movement till the following morning, when the enemy, having first got the wind, stood for

* *Gazette.*

Guadaloupe. The breeze having reached Sir Samuel Hood's division, they stretched to the northward, forming the line of battle ahead, and began to close with the French centre, while the centre and rear of the British squadron were still motionless.

It is said that the Count de Grasse might still have avoided an action, but that the temptation held out of falling with his whole force upon the British van, and entirely crushing it before it could be supported, was too strong to be resisted. About half-past nine the enemy bore down to the attack; and in a short time the whole of Sir Samuel Hood's division were warmly and closely engaged, each ship having at times two or three opponents: the Barfleur in particular had seven, and generally three ships firing at her at once. This unequal contest was maintained with such steadiness, resolution, and bravery, for the space of one hour, as excited the admiration of the whole fleet. At length the leading ships of the centre got the breeze, and were enabled to come to their assistance. These were soon followed by Sir George Rodney in the Formidable, with his two seconds, the Namur and Duke, all of 90 guns, when a most destructive fire ensued, which was maintained till the near approach of the rear division; when M. de Grasse, finding his efforts had failed, withdrew from the contest, and having the advantage of the wind, avoided every attempt of the British admiral to renew it.

In this action considerable damage was done to the van ships, particularly the Royal Oak and Montagu. The enemy also suffered considerably, and were under the necessity of sending two of their line-of-battle ships to Guadaloupe.

The fleet lay to during the night to repair their damages, and as the rear had not suffered in the preceding action, it was ordered to form the van, so that they might be better able to follow the enemy.

On the following day, the fleet turned to windward, the enemy doing the same, but from their superiority of sailing, had so considerably gained on the British squadron, that they were nearly hull down. All hope of overtaking them seemed now to vanish, when the wind freshening, and blowing a steady gale, a general chase took place, which continued the whole day. In the afternoon, one of the enemy's ships was observed to be considerably astern of the rest of the squadron; and towards sunset, some of the leading ships gained so fast upon her, that she must inevitably have fallen into their possession, had not her signals induced the Count de Grasse to bear down with his whole fleet for her protection.

Engraved by J.Fittler Esq.ARA Marine Engraver to his late Majesty

From a painting by Whitcombe in the possession of Adm.l Sir J.Knight

Surrender of the Ville de Paris, April 12th 1782.

Engraved by J.Fittler Esq ARA

Painted by Whitcombe from a plan by an Officer who was in the Action

Sir George Rodney in the Formidable breaking through the Enemy's line — April 12th 1782

This movement, however, brought him nearly into that situation which the British admiral had so long and so ardently wished: he therefore threw out the signal for the order of sailing, and stood to the southward till two in the morning; when he tacked, and at daylight found the power of forcing an action was in his own hands. Not one moment was lost in putting it into execution. About half-past seven the hostile fleets were formed in order of battle, standing on contrary tacks, soon after which the contest began. A little before eight the admiral made the signal for close action, which was kept flying the whole time. From the circumstance of there being little wind, the English ships ranged but slowly, though closely, along the enemy's line, under their lee, giving and receiving a most tremendous fire. In this manner the engagement continued, without any apparent superiority, till about noon, when Sir George Rodney, in the Formidable, bore directly athwart the enemy's line, and succeeded in breaking through it about three ships short of their centre. By this bold and masterly manœuvre the French line was thrown into the utmost confusion, and the fortune of the day decided. The enemy, however, continued the action with great courage and resolution: their van bore away to leeward, and endeavoured to reform their shattered squadron, but without effect; and their rear was so entirely routed, that no hope remained of recovering its order. In this extremity the coming up of Sir Samuel Hood's division completed the enemy's defeat, and rendered it irretrievable. About half-past six, the French admiral having struck his colours to the Barfleur*, all firing ceased, when, as Sir George devoutly observed, "it pleased God, out of his divine providence, to grant to his Majesty's arms a most complete victory over the fleet of his enemy."

Admiral Rodney, considering it necessary to keep the fleet collected, secure the prizes, and inquire into the situation of the squadron, brought to for the night; when it was found that five sail of the line had surrendered†, of which one, the César, afterwards blew up‡.

Thirty-six chests of money, destined for the pay and subsistence of the troops, were found in the Ville de Paris, together with the whole train

* We shall have other opportunities of noticing the conduct of different ships of the squadron, particularly the Canada, Captain Cornwallis, to whose bravery is really to be attributed the capture of the Ville de Paris.

† La Ville de Paris, Le Glorieux, Le César, Le Hector, and L'Ardent.

‡ It was for some time considered that another ship, the Diadème, was sunk; but this appears to have been a mistake.—Schomberg.

of artillery, battering cannon, &c. for the attack of Jamaica. Their loss of men was immense, arising from the crowded state of their ships, and the calm which existed during the action, by which the British ships were enabled to open their lower ports, and engage so close that every shot told: their numbers have been accordingly computed at 3000 killed and 6000 wounded; while that of the English, on the 9th and 12th, were astonishingly small, amounting only to 253 killed and 797 wounded: among the former were Captains Bayne, Blair, and Lord Robert Manners*, who all gloriously fell in the service of their king and country, and to whose memory monuments were subsequently erected in Westminster Abbey.

It has been well observed, that the great advantage which close fighting gives to British ships and seamen was never more happily exemplified, or more clearly demonstrated, than in this glorious battle. A comparative view of the loss of men in both fleets will confirm this observation. The enemy's ships also suffered so severely, that their fleet in general was little less than ruined; while, on the other hand, one division of the English fleet was fresh and fit for action when night put an end to the conflict. It must further be observed, that the small superiority as to the number of ships on the side of Britain, did not contribute so much as is imagined to the success of the day; for more ships of Sir Samuel Hood's division than were sufficient to balance that difference, were precluded from participating in the glories of the action by being becalmed until near the end of the engagement†.

In every point of view this victory, great in itself, was rendered still greater by the beneficial and important consequences with which it was attended: it entirely frustrated the enemy's plans of conquest in the West Indies, and not only put an end to the war in that quarter of the world, but produced a sudden and important change in the relative situation of the country: it enabled her to act with vigour in negociating a peace, or, if necessary, to prosecute the war; and finally restored her to that rank and consideration among the nations of Europe which she formerly enjoyed.

On the morning of the 13th, Sir George prepared to follow the enemy; but unfortunately the fleet was becalmed under Guadaloupe till the 16th, which gave them an opportunity to escape. During those three days, the damages the squadron had sustained were repaired, as well as

* His lordship died about a week afterwards, on his passage to England.

† Beatson.

circumstances would admit. As soon as the wind became favourable, Sir Samuel Hood, with his division, was dispatched in quest of the enemy; and such diligence was used in executing these orders, that on the 19th he discovered two 64-gun ships and three frigates steering towards the Mona passage, the whole of which, with the exception of one frigate, he captured; and afterwards rejoined Admiral Rodney off Cape Tiberoon.

As the enemy had now no force to windward, Sir George pursued his course to Jamaica, with the prizes, and such of his squadron as stood in need of essential repairs; leaving Sir Samuel Hood with twenty sail of the line to watch the enemy's movements at Cape François, where they were collecting the shattered remains of their late fleet.

Nothing could be more flattering to human nature than the reception the admiral met with from the inhabitants of Jamaica, who not only found themselves freed from danger, but beheld the principal commander of that armament which had caused them so much alarm, a prisoner in their harbour, with six of their principal ships, having the English colours waving triumphantly over them.

The news of this important victory was received in England with the most excessive joy: the whole nation indeed seemed roused from a state of despondency, to vigour and activity. The name of Rodney was every where re-echoed, and the many services he had done his country were represented in the strongest light. Indeed, his good fortune in the present war was certainly most singular, as well as highly glorious. Within little more than two years he had given a severe blow to the three most powerful and dangerous enemies of England—the French, Spaniards, and Dutch: he had taken an admiral of each nation; a circumstance unparalleled in naval history. He had added twelve line-of-battle ships to the British navy, all taken from her enemies, and destroyed five more. To render his victories still more complete and remarkable, the Ville de Paris is said to have been the only first-rate man of war that ever was taken and carried into port by any commander of any nation*.

After such meritorious services, it can be no wonder that he was a great favourite with the nation, especially when it is considered that it had been pronounced on the brink of ruin, and its fall portended as the necessary consequences of the multiplied difficulties in which it had so long been involved.

On the 22d May the thanks of both Houses of Parliament were

* *Annual Register.* Beatson.

voted to Sir George, "for his able and gallant conduct in the late most brilliant and decisive victory obtained over the French fleet in the West Indies;" and on the 19th June his Majesty was pleased to create him a peer of Great Britain. For the better support of this dignity, and as a more substantial remuneration, the House of Commons voted him a pension of 2000*l*. Thus honours and rewards held their due course, becoming the prizes of valour, good conduct, and important service.

Previous, however, to the arrival of Sir George's dispatches, a change of administration had taken place in England, the greater part of whose members had been his opponents and enemies in the St. Eustatia controversy, and his removal not only determined on, but his successor, Admiral Pigot, had actually embarked, to take upon himself the command; and though an express, ordering him to return, was dispatched to Plymouth, it came too late to effect its purpose, as he had sailed the preceding day.

Nothing occurred material enough to demand our particular notice during the remainder of the time his lordship continued in the West Indies, from whence he returned soon after Admiral Pigot's arrival; after which his lordship never took upon himself any command, or interfered in public affairs, further than by his occasional attendance to his duty in Parliament. He died in London, May 24, 1792, having been in the navy about sixty-two years, and upwards of fifty in commission.

It is almost needless to add any observations on the character of his lordship; his actions, which, we trust, we have impartially recorded, will furnish the reader with a sufficient opportunity of estimating it in his own mind. Thus far, however, we beg briefly to remark, that his qualifications as an officer have ever been deservedly held in the highest estimation; that he possessed a bold original genius, a mind capable of the most vigorous exertion, a steadiness to pursue his ends, and a flexibility to vary his means, which always enabled him to accomplish the object he had in view, and to which must be attributed the success which invariably attended his exertions.

In the dispatch of business, his diligence was indefatigable; and he has been known to write private letters and dictate to three secretaries at the same time.

In private life he has been described as benevolent, generous, and friendly; and few persons possessed more humanity, or filled the dignified situation to which he was raised, better than his lordship.

Considerable controversy has arisen concerning the originality of breaking the enemy's line during an engagement; his lordship's friends asserting, that he was solely indebted to his own mind and judgment for the manœuvre; that he had long contemplated the measure; that it first occurred to him while in France, during a conversation at the table of a Marshal de Biron; that he then determined to put it in operation the first opportunity he should have; and that he fought the battle of the 17th April, 1780, precisely on the same principle. While, on the contrary, a gentleman of the name of Clerk, several years after the battle of the 12th April, 1782, published a work on naval tactics, in which the principle of breaking the line was clearly laid down; and he claimed to himself the merit of the discovery, as well as that of having suggested it, through the medium of a mutual friend, to Admiral Rodney. In consequence of his claims, an application was made to the Admiralty for some reward, or at least some mark of their sense and approbation of his merits on this important national point: but the Admiralty, after having carefully inquired into the subject, did not deem Mr. Clerk entitled to any reward; not considering him to have been the original discoverer of the manœuvre, or that Admiral Rodney had acted on his suggestion*.

With respect to the battle of the 12th, it does not appear to us that the measure was contemplated by the admiral himself on going into action, as we cannot discover that he made any signal indicative of such a design; but that it was circumstances arising out of the action which induced him to put it in execution. The two fleets were standing on opposite tacks, the enemy to windward; and the van ships of the British line fetched about the twenty-fifth ship from the enemy's rear, and began to engage, standing on towards their hindmost ships, the two centres naturally approaching each other. On the coming up of the Formidable, the enemy was somewhat in confusion; they were hard pressed by several of the British squadron, and an opening was formed in their line; which being perceived by Admiral Rodney, and at the same time favoured by a slant of wind, he determined to put in practice that evolution which he had long meditated: he passed through their fleet, and the results were as we have already stated. This, so far as we have been able to learn, appears to have been the case: whether it was so or not, whether the manœuvre was the result of study or merely accidental, whether it originated with Mr. Clerk or Admiral Rodney, it is clear it was the latter

* Continuation of Campbell.

who first put it in practice; that it was he who first introduced that system which has been so successfully followed; and that it was he who led the van in that mode of warfare which Howe, Duncan, St. Vincent, Nelson, and others, have so bravely and successfully followed, raising their country to a degree of power by sea, that never was obtained by any nation at any period.

His lordship was twice married: first to Jane, daughter of Charles Compton, Esq. and sister to Spencer Earl of Northampton; and by her he had two sons and one daughter. His elder son succeeded to the title; and the younger was bred to the naval service, appointed commander of the Ferret sloop of war, and was lost at sea in August 1776: the daughter died an infant. His lordship married secondly Henrietta, daughter of John Clies, Esq. by whom he had two sons and four daughters.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF ADMIRAL LORD KEPPEL.

LORD KEPPEL was the second son of William Anne, second Earl of Albemarle*, and the Lady Lenox, daughter of Charles Lenox, first Duke of Richmond. He was born on the 2d April, 1725; and being attached to the naval service, was, at the age of thirteen, placed under the care and protection of Commodore Anson, and accompanied him in his expedition to the South Sea. By the strict attention he paid to his professional duties, he soon became a favourite of that distinguished officer, who embraced every opportunity of placing him in those situations wherein he might have opportunities to distinguish himself. At the attack of Paita, he accompanied Lieutenant Brett and the storming party, in which he had a very narrow and singular escape, " a shot having shaved off the peak of a jockey's cap he then wore, close to his temple."

After the capture of the Spanish galleon, which subsequently took place, he was promoted by the commodore to the rank of lieutenant. In September 1744, shortly after the return of the squadron to England, he was appointed to command a sloop of war; and in the December following, he was raised to the rank of post captain, being at the same time appointed to the Sapphire frigate, and ordered on a cruise. His first success was the capture of the Atalanta on the 15th April, 1745: she was a large French ship from Martinique, laden with sugar, coffee, and cotton; mounting 18 guns, besides swivels. On the 20th of the same month, being between Cape Clear and the Old Head of Kinsale, he fell in with the Superb, a Spanish privateer, of 16 guns and 150 men, which he captured after a chase of several hours. In 1746, he commanded the Maidstone of 50 guns, and though employed in the same line of service, he is mentioned only as the captor of a small French privateer of 4 guns and 120 men. In the early part of the following year, he was more fortunate, having captured the Revenge privateer of 22 guns and 320 men, and several West India merchant-ships, some of them very richly laden. But on the 7th July, being in pursuit of a privateer near Nantz, the Maidstone unfortunately struck on a rock, and

* The first earl came to England with William III. by whom he was raised to that dignity.

was lost: the captain and crew were, however, happily saved, and treated with great humanity and attention by the French authorities. Captain Keppel remained only a short time in the hands of the enemy, being very soon exchanged. On his arrival in England, he was of course tried for the loss of the ship, but being honourably acquitted of all blame, he was again called into active service, and appointed to the Anson, a fine new ship of 64 guns, and sailed on a cruise in the Channel; subsequent to which he sat as one of the members of the court-martial for the trial of Captain Fox.

Although the treaty of peace signed at Aix-la-Chapelle had put an end to all hostilities between the powers of Europe, Mr. Keppel experienced no relaxation of his professional duties. An English packet-boat having been plundered by an Algerine cruiser, Captain Keppel was appointed commodore of a small squadron fitted out for the purpose of demanding satisfaction of the government of Algiers for this act of piracy; in which delicate and important situation he displayed all the characteristic qualities of his mind, and distinguished himself as much by his spirited activity as his agreeable and accommodating manners; at the same time displaying the greatest firmness when either the honour of his country or his own were at the smallest hazard*. He arrived at Algiers on the 24th June, on board the Centurion, accompanied by the Assurance, Union, and Seahorse, and immediately opened the negociation, which, after some delay, was brought to an amicable termination. But between the ratification and the exchanging of the treaty, a fresh act of outrage was committed by an Algerine vessel, which rendered some further satisfaction necessary. The commodore therefore demanded an audience of the dey, and remonstrated in very strong and decisive terms against this second violation of the British flag. The dey received him in a very mild and submissive manner, and acknowledged, "that one of his officers had been guilty of a very great fault, which tended to embroil him with his chiefest and best friends; wherefore he should never more serve him by land or sea; and hoped the king, his master, would look upon it as the act of a fool or madman: that he would take care nothing should happen again of the like nature; and concluded by desiring they might be better friends than ever†." In the course of the ensuing summer he arranged similar treaties with the states of Tripoli and Tunis. Having thus secured the freedom of these seas to the com-

* Charnock. † *Gazette.*

merce of England, he had no further opportunity to distinguish himself: he, however, continued on the station till 1753, when he returned to England.

Notwithstanding the peace of Europe remained undisturbed, circumstances occurred in another part of the world, which again called forth the active services of Mr. Keppel. The affairs of the British provinces in North America were in a very unsettled state, and had now assumed a very serious aspect. A system of encroachment had been long pursued by the French; and the British settlers were so repeatedly disturbed, that it became necessary for the government to send out a force to watch the proceedings of the enemy. For this purpose Captain Keppel was dispatched, having the rank of commodore, with a small squadron, having on board a body of land forces, under the command of General Braddock. The squadron sailed from Ireland on the 14th January, 1755, and arrived off the coast of Virginia the latter end of February. Having landed the troops, the commodore personally co-operated with the army, and exerted his utmost efforts to ensure success to their operations; throughout the whole of which, his advice and assistance were so cordial and friendly, as induced the general, when writing to the Secretary of State, to mention him in the following terms:

" I think myself happy in being associated with an officer of Mr. Keppel's abilities and good disposition, which appears by his readiness to enter into any measure that may be conducive to the success of the undertaking." And again, " I have had from Commodore Keppel all the assistance possible."

The commodore continued on this station till the unfortunate defeat and death of General Braddock, when he returned to England*. On his arrival, the dispute with France, respecting her interference in North America, had arrived at such a point as left no alternative but an appeal to arms. Preparations were accordingly made on both sides for hostilities; and on the 18th May, 1756, a declaration of war was issued.

Captain Keppel was first appointed to the Swiftsure, in which ship he joined the fleet under Admiral Osborn off Brest. But he appears to have remained but a very short time on board this ship, as we shortly

* During his absence he was chosen M. P. for the city of Chichester, as successor to his brother, who had succeeded his father as Earl of Albemarle. At the next general election he was chosen for Windsor, which place he continued to represent till 1780, when he was returned for the county of Surry.

afterwards find him in command of the Torbay, in which he captured, after a few broadsides, the Chariot Royal, a large French ship of war, mounting 36 guns, and having on board 300 men, 160 of whom were soldiers. She had likewise a large quantity of stores and clothing on board, for the garrison of Louisbourg. After which he was ordered to the Mediterranean, with a small squadron consisting of four ships; but was obliged to return to Plymouth, in consequence of his people being extremely sickly. In the ensuing month he was ordered to cruise in soundings, having under his orders, exclusive of his own ship, the Essex of 64 guns, the Union and Gibraltar frigates; but was not fortunate enough to make any capture worthy of record. No other mention is made of him during the remainder of the year, except his having been a member of the court-martial appointed to try the unfortunate Admiral Byng, and as having applied, though ineffectually, to the House of Commons to be relieved from his oath of secrecy taken on that occasion.

In 1757, he served under Sir Edward Hawke in the unsuccessful expedition fitted out against Rochefort. In the ensuing year he commanded a small squadron employed to cruise in the Channel and off the French coast, in which he greatly distressed the commerce of the enemy, and made several valuable and important captures, amongst which was the Rostan privateer of 26 guns, the commander of which had the temerity to engage the Torbay, and had 26 of her crew killed and wounded before she struck. The enemy also devised a new and curious stratagem to save her even after she had surrendered. Having 320 men on board, they armed 90 of them, and concealed them in the hold, intending, when she should be at a distance from the Torbay, to rise upon the few who are generally put on board prizes, and retake the vessel; but being too eager to put their plan into execution, they were luckily discovered, and their intention disappointed.

At this time the Island of Goree was the only settlement the French possessed on the coast of Africa, and as it afforded great shelter to their privateers, it was determined by the British government to send out a force for its reduction, and to intrust the command to Commodore Keppel, who is said to have received on this occasion an extraordinary commission, appointing him commander-in-chief of the troops as well as the squadron*. Having taken on board 600 troops at Cork, under Colonel Worge, the squadron sailed from thence on the 11th November. The

* Charnock.

weather was extremely foggy and tempestuous: they, however, continued their course, without meeting with any material occurrence till the 29th, when it cleared up, which fortunately saved the whole fleet from destruction; as, to their great astonishment, they discovered the coast of Barbary close under their lee, though they considered themselves fifty leagues to the westward of it. The wind blowing strong on the shore, the whole fleet was in imminent danger of being wrecked, and required the greatest exertion and the highest degree of professional skill to enable them to weather the land. This was fortunately effected, with the exception of the Litchfield of 50 guns, and the Somerset transport, which were driven ashore and entirely lost*.

On the 14th December, the squadron anchored in the road of Santa Cruz, one of the Canary Islands, and having repaired their damages, sailed for their ulterior destination on the 20th. They got sight of the Island of Goree on the morning of the 28th, and came to an anchor in Goree roads in the evening. The commodore lost not a moment in putting his orders into execution, and having reconnoitred the place, determined to attack the fort and batteries on the west side on the following morning; for which purpose, the transports having the troops on board were ordered into a bay between Point Goree and Point Barrabas, that being the most convenient place for boats to row from; at the same time, the Saltash sloop was ordered to cover and protect the landing, should it be deemed expedient.

The west front appears to have been the strongest; but notwithstanding that disadvantage, it was thought preferable to attack it, as it was the lee side: so that should any of the ships' cables be cut by the enemy's shot, or by any accident be driven to sea, they might, by beating to windward, be again brought into action; but had the assault been made on the eastern side, any such accident would have endangered the safety of the ships, as they might have run ashore before they could have again brought up.

The arrangements having been completed, about nine in the morning the Prince Edward and Firedrake bore down and began the attack,

* Of the crew 130 perished, including the first lieutenant of marines and several inferior officers. Captain Barton and the rest of the survivors were conducted to Morocco, where they continued in captivity till the arrival of Captain Millbank, who was sent as ambassador to the emperor to treat for their ransom, which, including that for some other English subjects, was settled at 170,000 dollars.

when the enemy's batteries commenced a very brisk and animated fire, which carried away the flag-staff of the Prince Edward, and set fire to her arm-chest, which blew up, and killed a marine. This accident having caused some confusion on board that ship, and not observing any other coming to her assistance, the enemy redoubled their fire, and pointed their guns with so much exactness, that several of her crew were killed and wounded, as well as considerable damage done to the vessel, before she was in a condition to return the fire with effect. Joined to this misfortune, the Firedrake, by overcharging her mortars, threw all her shells over the island, which could not be perceived by those on board; but the commodore, who was watching every incident connected with the operations, observing the circumstance, immediately sent an officer on board the Furnace bomb, with orders for her to avoid the same mistake; and as they saw the enemy appeared bent upon sinking the Prince Edward and Firedrake, that they would instantly begin their bombardment, and endeavour as much as possible to draw the attention of the enemy from their suffering friends. The Nassau was also ordered to the assistance of the Prince Edward; but owing to the falling of the wind, it was some time before the other ships could take their stations and divide the enemy's fire, so as to cause any material diversion. At length the Torbay took her station with so much judgment abreast of the angle of the west point battery, that not a single gun could bear upon her, except two mounted on St. Pierre's bastion, and three in a small battery on the hill; while the fire from the Torbay was so near, so rapid, so well directed, and so steadily supported, that "the ship appeared to be in one continued blaze of fire; and that part of the island itself opposite to which the Torbay brought up, was darkened in a wonderful and almost incredible degree by the impenetrable clouds of smoke." This fire, joined to that of the other ships of the squadron, was too dreadful and too effective to be long withstood, and the enemy accordingly struck their colours; when the commodore immediately sent his secretary and an officer on shore to arrange the terms of capitulation. But before they could step from the boat, they were asked, "On what terms the surrender was expected?" The lieutenant, astonished at the question, asked, "If they had not struck their flag, indicative of an unconditional submission?" The reply was, "No, it was intended only as a signal for a parley." Being told that the commodore was determined the garrison should surrender at discretion, the French commander said, "I am still prepared to defend

myself, and will continue to do it if the French troops are not permitted to march out with the honours of war." The officer remonstrated on the folly of making any further resistance; but this being ineffectual, he departed, after informing the governor, that a gun fired over the island by the commodore should be the signal for the renewal of hostilities. The commodore being informed of the ridiculous obstinacy of the enemy, instantly ordered the appointed signal to be given; which was followed by a broadside from the Torbay and the other ships of the squadron, which altered the determination of the French governor, as, before it could be repeated, he ordered the regimental colours to be dropped over the walls, as a signal of surrendering at discretion. The commodore immediately sent a party of marines to take possession of the fort, who hoisted the British colours, and finished the ceremony by giving three cheers from the battlements of the citadel. The stores, money, and merchandise found on the island were valued at twenty thousand pounds.

Having arranged the government of the island, the commodore proceeded with Colonel Worge to Senegal, and having reinforced the garrison, he set sail for England; but in his passage was again attacked with such violent tempests, as threatened destruction to his whole squadron: they, however, arrived safe at Portsmouth on the 1st March.

During the remainder of the year he was attached to the Channel fleet under Sir Edward Hawke; and in the defeat of the French squadron under Conflans, his name stands amongst those distinguished officers whose gallantry and intrepidity were particularly displayed, the Thesée of 74 guns being sunk by the fire from the Torbay, and of a crew which consisted of 800 men, only 20 were saved.

Shortly after the action, Captain Keppel was detached by Sir Edward Hawke with nine sail of the line to Basque roads, to attack such of the enemy's ships as had taken shelter there; but the enemy, apprehensive of such a visit, had, before his arrival, got their guns out, and retired up the Charente. Finding therefore that he could attempt nothing, he rejoined the admiral.

In February 1760, he was appointed colonel of marines; and having removed to the Valiant, a new ship of 74 guns, he was principally employed in watching the remains of the enemy's fleet; in which service, however, nothing material occurred. During the summer months he was attached to the fleet under Sir Edward Hawke in Quiberon bay; and towards the conclusion of the year, he was chosen to command a secret

expedition fitting out against the Mauritius*; but in consequence of the death of the king it was laid aside. It was, however, resumed in the following spring, and sent against the Island of Bellisle. It sailed from Spithead on the 29th March, but owing to the unfavourable state of the wind, it was the 6th April before they got sight of the island. In the evening, the commodore detached six frigates, with orders to station themselves between the main and the island, for the purpose of cutting off all communication. Early next morning the fleet passed to the south end of the island, and came to an anchor about twelve o'clock in the great road of Palais. The coast having been reconnoitred, it was determined to attempt a landing at Port André; and in order to divide the enemy's attention as much as possible, a feint was made near St. Sauçon. The batteries having been silenced by the ships appointed to that service, the signal was made for the troops to land. They rowed to the shore in three divisions, under the direction of Captain Barton. The enemy was strongly posted on the side of an almost inaccessible hill: the troops, however, made good their landing, notwithstanding a heavy fire from the enemy's works; but all attempts to dislodge them from their entrenchments proved abortive, and the general was under the necessity of ordering a retreat, after sustaining a loss of 500 men; and in their endeavour to reach the fleet, several of the boats were lost, or so much damaged as to increase the difficulty of making any further attempt. These gloomy appearances were, however, quickly dissipated by the arrival of five sail of the line and some transports from England, by which they were enabled to make another attempt on the 22d, when the troops made good their landing, and after many resolute attacks, obliged the enemy to retire from their redoubts and entrenchments. This success was the forerunner of conquest, the citadel of Palais having capitulated on the 7th June. Thus was the Island of Bellisle reduced under the British crown, after a siege of two months; and whatever difference might have been entertained of the value of the conquest, the rejoicings in London were great and sincere. The common council addressed his Majesty on the occasion; and the commanders of the expedition, who had, with a noble perseverance, struggled with and overcome such difficulties, and who had the spirit to renew the attack under such unfavourable circumstances, were the objects of just and general applause.

* Beatson.

The commodore remained on the station, as well for the protection of the island, as to watch the French squadron in Brest, till the 12th January 1762, when a violent storm compelled him to return to England; the Valiant having five feet water in her hold on her arrival at Plymouth, and only four ships in company, the remainder being entirely dispersed. He does not appear to have again returned to his station, having been appointed to command a division of the fleet under Sir George Pocock, destined against the Havannah. He sailed from Spithead, in company with the commander-in-chief, on the 5th March; and on the 11th, captured the St. Priest, a French East Indiaman of 700 tons burden, having on board 250 men, besides passengers.

On the arrival of the fleet off the Havannah, the admiral issued his orders for landing the troops, the superintendence of which was intrusted to Commodore Keppel, who had under his orders six sail of the line and a proportionate number of frigates. A body of the enemy appearing on the shore to oppose the landing, the commodore ordered the Mercury and Bonetta to scour the beach, which they completely effected, and the troops were landed without opposition. The most brilliant and decided success attended the operations of the army on shore; and on the surrender of the place, Sir George Pocock, in his dispatches, spoke of the commodore in the following terms: "I am glad on this occasion to do justice to the distinguished merit of Commodore Keppel, who executed the service under his direction, on the Coxemar side, with the greatest spirit, activity, and diligence."

On the 21st October, he was raised to the rank of rear-admiral of the Blue, the promotion of flag-officers being in some degree extended beyond its customary limits purposely to include him*; and on the 3d November, Sir George Pocock resigned the command of the squadron into his hands, himself returning to England with five sail of the line, several of the Spanish prizes, and about fifty sail of transports.

Admiral Keppel having received advice that the enemy had twenty-five sail of merchantmen at Cape François, richly laden, which were shortly to sail for Europe, under convoy of four merchant-frigates, stationed his squadron in such a manner as he had no doubt would enable him to intercept them. Under cover of a dark night, the enemy put to sea, and were soon after fallen in with by some privateers, who took five of their vessels; and on the following morning, Admiral Keppel came in

* Charnock.

sight of the remainder, the whole of which he captured. He continued on this station till the conclusion of the war, when he delivered the place into the hands of the Spanish authorities, and proceeded to Jamaica, where he was soon relieved by Rear-Admiral Sir W. Burnaby.

In 1763, he was appointed to be one of the grooms of the bedchamber to his Majesty; and on the 31st July, 1765, one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty: but he resigned in December 1766.

In the month of September 1766, he commanded the yachts and vessels which conveyed the Queen of Denmark to Holland. On the 18th October, 1770, he was advanced to be rear-admiral of the Red; and on the 24th of the same month, vice-admiral of the Blue; being at the same time intended as commander-in-chief of a squadron fitting out in consequence of the apprehended rupture with Spain, relative to the Falkland Islands, but the dispute being amicably arranged, he had not then an opportunity to hoist his flag. On the 31st March, 1775, he was further advanced to be vice-admiral of the White; and on the 5th February, 1776, to be vice-admiral of the Red.

We are now arrived at the most important period of this gentleman's life, in which all his professional skill and abilities were called forth in defence of the honour and interest of the kingdom; and though, in the performance of his duty, he fell under the censure of his political opponents, though his conduct became the subject of much animadversion, not only in the navy, but in Parliament and throughout the whole country, and subsequently became the subject of investigation before a court-martial, his character increased in public estimation, and the greater the ordeal which he had to pass through, the more bright and eminent did he appear; the very steps taken to destroy him, proving an honourable addition to his triumph and exaltation.

In November 1776, he received a message from Lord Sandwich, through Sir Hugh Palliser, that, in consequence of the interference of foreign powers in the dispute with the colonies of America, it might be requisite to employ a fleet in the seas near home; and that he had his Majesty's orders to know whether he would undertake the command: to which he replied, he was ready to attend and give his answer in person to the king. Being admitted into the royal presence, he declared his willingness to serve his Majesty in defence of the country and its commerce, whenever he should be called upon so to do. He was not, however, required to

take any command till March 1778*, when the government of France, by the acknowledgment of American independence, and the seizure of all British vessels found in their ports, left no doubt as to their hostile intentions. A fleet of twenty sail of the line was ordered to be in readiness, and the command conferred on Admiral Keppel; an appointment that appears to have given universal satisfaction, great reliance being placed on his acknowledged zeal and professional talents; "the settled fame of whose cool and determined courage might make him dare to be prudent." Indeed, as was stated in the House of Commons, "all descriptions of men seemed pleased with the choice, and to feel their own security included in the appointment."

Previous, however, to his leaving London to hoist his flag, he had two or three audiences of his Majesty, in which he delivered his opinions on the state of affairs with all that plainness and openness of mind so consonant to his general character. In particular, he took the freedom to observe, that he served in obedience to his Majesty's commands; that he was unacquainted with his ministers as ministers; and that he took the command as it was, without making any difficulty, or asking a single favour, trusting to his Majesty's good intentions, and his gracious support and protection.

Such was the origin of the admiral's appointment; and although (to use his own expression upon the trial), circumstanced as he was, he could have no sinister or ambitious views in his obedience, that he risked a great deal, and expected nothing; that many things disposed him rather to seek ease, than the fatigues, hardships, and difficulties, not only of an active employment, but of a most critical service; that although his forty years' service was not marked by the possession of any one favour from the crown, except that of its confidence in the time of danger, he could not think it right to decline the service of his country when she stood in need of his exertions.

On his going to Portsmouth, he was led to believe that he would find a strong and well appointed fleet ready for sea; but on his arrival at that port, he discovered, to his great astonishment, that there were not more than six ships of the line fit for immediate service. This state of affairs he immediately communicated in the most earnest but private manner to the First Lord of the Admiralty, when an unusual degree of vigour was seen to pervade the naval department; so that by the beginning of June

* On the 29th January, 1778, he was made admiral of the Blue.

twenty sail of the line were completely equipped*; and on the 13th, he sailed from Spithead, having unlimited discretionary powers for the defence of the kingdom, the protection of the homeward-bound trade, and the preservation of the honour and dignity of the British flag, threatened on all sides by active and powerful enemies.

The fleet had scarcely arrived on its station, when the admiral was called upon to use his discretionary powers with the utmost care and circumspection†. Two French frigates and two smaller vessels hove in sight, and appeared to be taking a survey of the fleet. His situation was difficult and singular. War had not been declared, nor even reprisals ordered, and he was unwilling to commit the first act of hostility. But the important trust reposed in his hands, and the critical state of public affairs, superseded all considerations of that nature, and the necessity of obtaining intelligence of the strength and situation of the enemy rendered it indispensably requisite to stop them: he therefore determined to pursue that line of conduct which he deemed right, and to abide the consequences. A general signal for chasing was thrown out; and in the evening, the Milford frigate got along side the Licorne of 32 guns, and in the most obliging terms requested the French captain to come under the admiral's stern: this was refused; but upon the coming up of a ship of the line, and firing a gun, the Frenchman stood towards her, and was brought into the fleet. The admiral desired that every civility should be shewn the French captain, and information given him that he would see him as soon as he could come up in the morning. In the morning, however, the French frigate was observed to make an unexpected movement, which occasioned a shot to be fired across her way, as a signal for her to keep her course; when, to the astonishment of the whole fleet, she suddenly discharged her whole broadside and a volley of small arms into the America of 74 guns, which lay close to her, at the very instant that Lord Longford, her commander, was talking to the French captain in terms of the utmost politeness. Having discharged her fire, she instantly struck her colours. Several of the shot struck the America,

* During the time these preparations were taking place, his Majesty visited the town and harbour of Portsmouth; from whence he proceeded to Spithead, and went on board Admiral Keppel's ship, where the royal standard was immediately hoisted, each ship of the squadron saluting with twenty-one guns.

† We beg to observe, that these particulars are taken principally from the printed copy of the proceedings of the court-martial.

and it seemed little less than a miracle that only four of her crew were wounded. Although this disgraceful behaviour merited the severest return, it reflects the highest credit on the character of her noble commander, that he did not return a single shot.

In the mean time the other French frigate and a schooner were pursued by the Arethusa frigate and the Alert cutter, until they were out of sight of the fleet. The Arethusa having at length got up with her chase, Captain Marshall requested her captain to bring to, and accompany him to the British admiral; which being peremptorily refused, the Arethusa fired a shot across the Belle Poule, which was instantly returned by a whole broadside: a desperate action then ensued, which continued with unusual warmth for about two hours, when the French frigate, being on her own coast, stood into a small bay, and effected her escape. The contest between the schooner and the cutter was maintained with no less vigour, and after an hour's hard fighting, she was brought into the fleet.

In the mean time another French frigate was detained by the admiral; though he did not think himself authorized to detain their merchantmen, and several of them passed through the fleet unmolested.

The intelligence which the admiral obtained by the capture of these vessels was of the utmost importance. He had been taught, as he affirmed, to believe that he commanded a fleet which, if not equal in number and force, was yet such as would leave no doubt as to the result, should he be attacked by any hostile squadron. But he now discovered that the French fleet in Brest amounted to thirty-two sail of the line: his situation was therefore highly perplexing and critical. He saw that an engagement under circumstances of such decided superiority on the part of the enemy, would hazard the safety and independence of the country: that, in case of defeat, she would be exposed to the insults and attacks of the enemy; while the whole of her trading vessels would inevitably fall into their possession. On the other hand, to retreat from the coast of an insulted enemy, when that enemy was coming out to avenge the insult, would be an incident as new in the naval history of England, as it would seem inconsistent with the present opinion and degrading to the past renown of the commander. Under these circumstances he found it difficult to decide what course to take: he had a firm reliance on the bravery and skill of the officers and men under his command; but he did not despise his enemy, and considering the great disparity of force, it was impossible to foretel the event of a battle. He therefore deter-

mined to use the discretion reposed in him to the best of his judgment: he quitted his station, and returned to port. But he afterwards declared, that he never in his life felt so deep a melancholy as when obliged to turn his back on France, and that his courage was never put to so great a trial as in that retreat; but his firm persuasion was, that the country was saved by it.

On his return to Portsmouth he made no complaints himself, nor encouraged it in others; but, on the contrary, did every thing in his power to stifle discontent, notwithstanding some publications, which were considered under the influence of the government, loaded him with the grossest abuse, and threatened him with the fate of Admiral Byng.

Having augmented his force to thirty sail of the line, he again went to sea. The information which he received as to the strength and condition of the enemy proved perfectly correct, as they put to sea on the 8th July with thirty-two line-of-battle ships: they were divided into three divisions, under the command of the Count d'Orvilliers.

On the 23d the two fleets came in sight of each other; but the French admiral soon manifested a determination to avoid an engagement. Admiral Keppel having formed his fleet in the order of battle by the evening, lay to till the morning. Unfortunately the wind changed during the night, which gave the enemy the weather gage, and at daylight they were observed under a press of sail to preserve it: two of their line-of-battle ships had, however, fallen so far to leeward, as gave the admiral hopes of separating them from the main body, or forcing the French admiral to an engagement: he therefore made the signal to chase to windward; but the enemy chose rather to submit to the separation of the two ships, than risk an encounter with the British squadron. For four days the British admiral continued to beat to windward in pursuit of the enemy, stimulated by every motive that could induce him to bring on a battle, and which he was determined to do whenever and by whatever means he could accomplish it.

On the 27th July, a dark squall came on, and the wind being at the same time somewhat changeable, produced several evolutions in the two fleets, which, by the dexterous management of the British admiral, brought them so close, that the enemy had it no longer in their power to avoid an action. But as this situation was contrary to the wishes and intentions of the enemy, he determined to avoid its consequences as much as possible; and instead of lying to to receive the British fleet on

the same tack, he suddenly put about on the contrary tack, so that the two fleets, being directed to opposite points, could only engage as they passed each other; and even then, so careful was the enemy to avoid an engagement, that their van scarcely came within random shot.

The first object of the British admiral, after he had passed the rear of the enemy, was to consider the best means of bringing on a close and general engagement; for which purpose, as soon as the smoke had cleared away, he looked round to observe the position of the squadron. He soon perceived that Sir Robert Harland, with part of his division, had already tacked, and was standing towards the enemy; at the same time some of them were dropping to leeward, seemingly to repair their damages. His own ship, the Victory, had so considerable a share in the action, as not to be in a condition for immediate tacking: this movement was, however, performed as speedily as possible; and notwithstanding the damages sustained by the Victory, she was not only the first ship of the centre division that wore round towards the enemy, but it was some time before her example could be followed; and even then only three or four were able to close up with her: so that had it been possible for the admiral to have wore sooner, it could have answered no good purpose. In this situation he hauled down the signal for battle, considering it improper for that signal to be flying while the ships were unable to support each other in action; and in order to collect them together for that purpose, he made the signal for the line of battle ahead, a cable's length asunder.

The French fleet having now wore, had begun to form their line on the starboard tack by the wind, which, if they had kept, would have brought them close up with the centre of the British line; but, upon observing the exposed situation of those British ships which had fallen to leeward to repair their damages, they began to edge away, with an evident intention of cutting them off: this obliged the British admiral to wear, and stand athwart the van of the enemy in a diagonal line, for their protection. At the same time he dispatched orders to Sir Robert Harland to form his division at a distance astern of the Victory, in order to cover the rear, and to keep the enemy in check until the vice-admiral of the Blue should, in obedience to the signal, which was kept constantly flying, come with his division into his proper station. In the mean time the admiral, perceiving that he was nearing the enemy, and that the vice-admiral of the Blue with his division still continued to lie to wind-

ward, he made the signal for ships to windward to bear down into his wake, which was repeated by the vice-admiral of the Blue, though he had not repeated that for the line of battle; but as he did not bear down himself, he led the captains of his division to suppose that he meant them to come into his own wake, instead of that of the admiral.

The protection of the disabled ships being accomplished, and the French fleet continuing to form their line, ranging up to leeward parallel to the centre division, it became the admiral's immediate and only object to form his with the utmost celerity, in order to bear down and renew the action; and having repeated the signal for ships to windward to bear down into his wake, he sent the Milford with orders for the vice-admiral of the Red to stretch ahead and take his station in the line; which was instantly obeyed by that distinguished officer. At the same time, the Fox frigate, Captain the Hon. T. Windsor, was dispatched to the vice-admiral of the Blue, with orders for him to come into the admiral's wake, and to tell him that the admiral only waited for his division to renew the battle: he also threw out the signal for all ships to come into their stations, always keeping the signal for the line flying. All this producing no effect on the vice-admiral of the Blue, and wearied out with fruitless expectation, at seven o'clock he made the signal for each particular ship of the vice-admiral of the Blue's division to come into her station; but before they had accomplished it, night put an end to all further operations.

It will not fail to be observed, that no particular signal was made for the Formidable, Sir H. Palliser's ship, to come into the line. This the admiral attributed to a motive of delicacy, founded on the long services of that officer, as well as a due compliment to his rank and station.

Though the enemy were drawn up in order of battle, and though they had it in their power to renew the engagement at any time they chose, with great and apparent advantage, they shewed no inclination to do so; but, on the contrary, during the night they stationed three of their best sailing ships at proper distances with lights, to direct the attention of the British fleet, and induce them to imagine that the whole still retained their position. Under this deception, and the favour of the night, the rest of the fleet withdrew, and made the best of their way to Brest, for which port the wind was directly fair.

At daylight they were scarcely visible from the mast-heads of the British fleet, so that there was not the smallest probability of coming up

with any of them, except the three sail above-mentioned, which the admiral immediately ordered to be chased; but soon perceiving that they greatly outsailed their pursuers, he recalled his own ships; and considering that, from the damages sustained by his squadron, he should be unnecessarily delaying their repairs were he to follow the enemy off their own coasts, which could answer no purpose but parade, he returned to Plymouth to refit, leaving two men of war for the protection of the homeward-bound trade; the whole of which arrived perfectly safe.

During his stay at Plymouth, he received a letter from the Admiralty, declaring in the most explicit terms his Majesty's full approbation of his conduct, accompanied with the congratulations of the Lords of the Admiralty on his victory.

As soon as the necessary repairs were completed, the admiral again put to sea. Nothing, however, material occurred during the remainder of the campaign, and on the approach of the winter months he returned to port.

The reception he met with at court equalled his most sanguine expectations, his Majesty honouring him with the most gracious expressions of satisfaction, and the First Lord of the Admiralty declaring that his conduct met with his entire approbation.

But notwithstanding all these expressions of approbation, the admiral was not satisfied: to use his own expression, " he expected to make the 27th July a proud day for England." It is true that the action itself was honourable to British skill and courage, but the result was not decisive; and though he had hitherto, out of regard to the public service, and the private friendship he had for Sir Hugh Palliser, imposed silence on himself, and enjoined it on others, it was impossible he could effectually check the murmurs prevailing throughout the fleet; for, previous to their last putting to sea, the loss of a complete and glorious victory was openly attributed to the Blue division; whilst in London the conduct of the admiral was as openly criticized and condemned.

Admiral Keppel and Sir Hugh Palliser had attached themselves to the two opposite political parties, by whom they were respectively supported. The complaints were now no longer confined to the fleet or the newspapers, they became loud and general; and Sir H. Palliser was directly charged, in some of the papers of the day, with misconduct and disobedience of orders. This led to a personal application from Sir H. Palliser to Admiral Keppel, requiring from him a public justification of

his conduct on the day of the action, and an express contradiction of those imputations which had been cast on his professional character and reputation; requesting Admiral Keppel to sign a statement which he had prepared, in which he was to assert, that his calling the vice-admiral of the Blue's division into his wake on the evening of the 27th, was NOT for the purpose of renewing the engagement at that time, but to be in readiness for it the following morning! This request being peremptorily rejected by Admiral Keppel, Sir Hugh published in one of the daily papers a variety of circumstances concerning the action, which severely reflected on the conduct of his commander, and to which he prefixed a letter bearing his own signature.

This extraordinary publication, which struck at once at the character of the admiral and the discipline of the service, excited the utmost surprise and astonishment; and induced Admiral Keppel to declare, that, without a full and satisfactory explanation from Sir Hugh Palliser, he could not, consistently with his own reputation, act with him again in any public situation whatever.

On the meeting of Parliament, the subject was brought before the House of Peers by the Earl of Bristol, who requested the First Lord of the Admiralty to institute an inquiry into the conduct of the commanders of the fleet on the 27th July. To which he replied, that circumstances did not require it. The action off Brest, excepting the destruction of the enemy's ships, had produced all the benefits of a complete victory. That the enemy had fled from the British fleet to avoid a second encounter, and had not dared to face them again during the remainder of the campaign:—that the trade of the country had been fully protected, while that of France had been ruined:—that the institution of an inquiry would be productive of the most fatal effects:—that it would divide the navy into cabals and factions:—that it would require the attendance of all the principal officers either as judges or witnesses, and would retard the operations of the ensuing spring. At the same time he declared himself fully satisfied, that both the officers in question had performed their duty with the greatest bravery and honour.

The subject was then brought before the House of Commons, Admiral Keppel and Sir Hugh Palliser being both present; the former of whom declared, that if he were to go over the business of the 27th July again, he would conduct himself in the same manner as he then did:—that every thing that could be done had been done against the enemy:—

that the British flag had not been tarnished in his hands; and he should never be ashamed of his conduct on the day in question. He said, he impeached no man of a neglect of duty, because he was satisfied that the officer in question had manifested no want of courage—the most essential quality in a British seaman*. But in consequence of the appeal which he had made to the public in a newspaper, and which tended to make him (Mr. Keppel) odious and despicable, he could not act with him again in any public situation.

This necessarily called up Sir Hugh Palliser, who observed, that the honourable admiral spoke with a kind of reserve; that he heartily wished him to speak out, that knowing what was imputed to him, he might have an opportunity of fully answering the charge. He had discovered from what the admiral had just said, that the principal matter which weighed against him in the admiral's mind was, the publication in the newspapers, which he had signed with his name, and by which he would abide. To say any thing against a friend was, to a man of sensibility, the most disagreeable thing in nature; but where an officer's reputation was at stake, the removing an unjust stigma was certainly the first object. He declared, in the strongest terms, that the report of his not having obeyed signals was a direct falsehood: but that if it had been true, considering the circumstances of that day, the public service could not have been affected by it: that he neither had been guilty of neglect of duty nor of disobedience of orders; that he was by no means instrumental in preventing a renewal of the action; that he despised all the means resorted to to vilify and traduce his character; and that, conscious of his own innocence, he feared neither reports nor assertions, a parliamentary inquiry nor a public trial.

To which Admiral Keppel replied, that he had made no charge against the vice-admiral relative to his conduct during the action; it was confined solely to the letter which he had published in the newspapers, and which he considered fully warranted him in adhering to the determination which he had made. But as the vice-admiral had taken up the subject of signals, and declared it to be no fault of his that the fleet of France was not re-attacked, he begged to observe, that he presumed every inferior officer was bound to obey the signals of his commander; and that the

* In this opinion we do not concur: bravery is not sufficient, strength is not sufficient; there must be skill, there must be practice, or the greatest strength and courage signify very little.

signal for coming into the Victory's wake was flying from three in the afternoon till eight in the evening, without being obeyed: but at the same time he did not mean to charge the vice-admiral with actual disobedience; and he doubted not, if an inquiry were to take place, he would be able to justify himself.

This debate terminated with a motion for an address to his Majesty, "praying him to order a court-martial on Sir Hugh Palliser," which was postponed for a few days, when it was again brought forward; and the vice-admiral, in a speech of great warmth and vehemence, complained bitterly of the injurious treatment he had received from Admiral Keppel, whom he charged with having, through his own incapacity, caused the failure of success in the late action with the French fleet; and declared, that he had demanded and obtained a court-martial to try him for his misconduct.

This declaration was received by the Parliament and the nation with the utmost degree of surprise and regret; and twelve of the oldest and most distinguished officers in the navy, at the head of whom was Lord Hawke, presented a memorial to the king, in which they severely censured the conduct of Sir Hugh Palliser, and the steps taken by the Board of Admiralty, as being pregnant with the most ruinous consequences to the naval service. But this had no effect; and on the 7th January, 1779, the trial commenced at Portsmouth; an act of Parliament having been passed to hold it on shore, in consequence of the indisposition of the admiral. The court continued sitting till the 11th of the ensuing month, during the whole of which time the minds of men of all professions and degrees appear to have been almost wholly engrossed by its proceedings. During its continuance no business was transacted in either House of Parliament; indeed some of the most eminent members of both attended at Portsmouth, where they were detained by the interest they took in the trial.

After a full, minute, and attentive investigation of the evidence produced, the court acquitted the admiral of all the charges laid against him, in the most complete and honourable terms, declaring that they were malicious and ill-founded; "it having appeared that the said admiral, so far from having, by misconduct and neglect of duty on the days alluded to, lost an opportunity of rendering essential service to the state, and thereby tarnished the honour of the British navy, behaved as became a judicious, brave, and experienced officer."

" This decision was no sooner made known, than a general acclamation of applause burst forth in the court, which being communicated to the crowd without, became universal through the town. A signal-gun was fired to dispatch the tidings to Spithead, upon which the ships saluted and cheered. The East Indiamen at the Mother-Bank fired nineteen vollies."

A general rejoicing took place in every part of the kingdom; and the people, by the feelings manifested on the occasion, shewed that they thought the prosperity and glory, as well as the justice and honour of the nation, naturally concerned in the result. The illuminations, particularly in London and Westminster, are said to have been on such a scale of magnificence as scarcely to have been exceeded on any public occasion.

The day after the sentence was pronounced, the thanks of the House of Commons were voted to him, with only one dissentient voice, " for his distinguished courage, conduct, and ability, in defending this kingdom in the course of the last summer; effectually protecting its trade; and more particularly for his having gloriously upheld the honour of the British flag on the 27th and 28th July last." On the 16th February, the thanks of the Peers were voted to him in nearly the same terms, with the most perfect unanimity; and on the 18th, when the admiral resumed his seat in the Commons, the Speaker addressed him thus:

" Admiral Keppel, this House has done you the distinguished honour of ordering its thanks to be given to you, an honour never conferred but upon extraordinary merit; which thanks it is my duty to communicate to you in your place. After having so long sat in this chair, I hope it is unnecessary to declare, that I have been always happy to obey the orders of this House; and I have now a particular satisfaction in that obedience. Indeed, every generous mind must feel satisfaction, when the day of honourable acquittal succeeds to the day of severe trial; and this pleasure was, I believe, never more general, nor more sincere, than upon the present occasion.

" You, sir, were called by your sovereign, with the approbation of all descriptions of men, particularly those of your own profession, to a station of the utmost difficulty and of the highest importance. The safety of this country and the honour of the British flag were trusted in your hands, when the enemy was expected on our coasts; and notwithstanding

the most able discharge of this great and momentous trust, you were accused of misconduct and neglect of duty. But after the very long and full investigation, by men in every respect the best qualified to judge, that charge appeared to be ill-founded and malicious, and your judges have unanimously and honourably acquitted you; and have further added, that your conduct on the 27th and 28th of July was that of a judicious, brave, and experienced officer. Surely then it cannot be matter of surprise, that extraordinary marks of respect and esteem are shewn to such a character. We now know with certainty that our confidence in you was not misplaced; and we entertain a well-grounded hope, that there still remains amongst the naval officers, talents and abilities fully equal to this dangerous crisis.

" Amidst this general joy, I cannot help repeating the singular pleasure which I feel in giving you the thanks of this House, which I now do, for your distinguished courage, conduct, and ability, in defending this kingdom in the course of the last summer; effectually protecting its trade; and more particularly for having gloriously upheld the honour of the British flag on the 27th and 28th July last."

The common-council of London distinguished itself in the most striking manner by the zeal with which it testified its participation in the general satisfaction; having voted him the freedom of the city in a box of heart of oak, and shewed him every mark of respect in its power.

Soon after Admiral Keppel's arrival in town, he was requested to resume the command of the fleet; and though the coldness of the terms in which the letter was couched, evidently shewed that the Admiralty Board did not participate in his triumph, he still thought fit to comply. But from his reception at court, and some other circumstances, the conduct of ministers appeared so marked and apparent, that it became a subject of discussion in both Houses of Parliament, which led to others of still greater magnitude; the result of which was, that Admiral Keppel thought it prudent to withdraw from a situation wherein he thought himself not acceptable; declaring, in his place in Parliament, that after what he had already suffered and experienced, he could not think of proceeding to sea during the present naval administration; that, besides its being inconsistent with a due regard to his own honour, and exceedingly hazardous with respect to his professional character, he was fully convinced in his own mind, that he could not, under their influence or

conduct, promote, in any essential degree, the interests of his country, which was the only motive that could induce him to undertake it*.

On the change of ministers in 1782, Admiral Keppel was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty, and a member of the privy council. On the 8th April, he was promoted to the rank of admiral of the White; and on the 29th of the same month, he was created Viscount Keppel of Elveden, in the county of Suffolk.

On the death of Lord Rockingham, and the change of administration in January 1783, he resigned his situation of First Lord of the Admiralty; but resumed it in the following April, when his friends again directed the affairs of state. He continued to preside at the Admiralty, with no less credit to himself than advantage to the country, till the 23d December, when, being much afflicted with the gout, he retired into private life; "where he continued to display, with unaffected cheerfulness, though harassed with severe bodily infirmities, those many amiable qualities with which he was so largely endowed; and in the society of his private friends he gave and received that pure pleasure which flows from the cordial sympathies of real esteem."

He died, unmarried, October 2, 1786, of the gout in his stomach, aged sixty-three years.

His lordship was endowed by nature with all those excellent qualifications which are the necessary accomplishments of a great man: he had a quickness of apprehension, and a vivacity of understanding, which led him to a knowledge of the most difficult subjects: he possessed an eager but generous and noble emulation, which pushed him upon striving to excel in the profession he adopted; and while his amiable disposition endeared him to his private acquaintance, and the graceful affability of his manners engaged the affections of the people, his courage, conduct, and foresight were such, as to inspire the confidence of those whom he commanded. To these distinguished qualities he united an integrity and noble independence of spirit, which no allurements of wealth or power could influence; which rendered him at once an honour to his country, the delight of his friends, and the idol of the seamen. His nautical knowledge was great and complete; he acquired it by long study, prac-

* About the same time, Lord Howe, Sir R. Harland, Sir J. Lindsay, and several other officers of distinction, either quitted the service, or declined acting under the then administration.

tice, and experience; and whether at sea or on shore, he was alike distinguished for justice, clemency, and humanity.

We cannot conclude this article without adverting to the character given of his lordship by Mr. Charnock, in his *Biographia Navalis*, and who does not appear to have treated the subject with his usual discernment. He says, " Prior to that ill-fated event, which all men must admit was injurious to the country, the service, and *his own fame*, he was the idol of all parties and ranks, whether in or out of service: his bravery, his prudence, his activity, his diligence, he had happily afforded reiterated proofs of." If such were the case (which no one denies), we would ask, what it was he was guilty of in the action alluded to, which could detract from his high character? His conduct on that occasion was submitted to a competent tribunal, who declared it to be that of " a judicious, brave, and experienced officer." He was honourably acquitted, and the charges brought against him were declared to be malicious and unfounded. He received the unanimous thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and was raised by his Majesty to a peerage of Great Britain. How then can it be asserted to have been "injurious to the country, the service, and his own fame?" We do not wish to proceed further; at the same time, we could not allow the opinions of a writer, whose general correctness renders them of weight, to pass without notice.

We shall conclude these observations with the eloquent tribute to the memory of his lordship from the pen of Mr. Burke: " The other day, in looking over some fine portraits, I met with the picture of Lord Keppel. It was painted by an artist worthy of the subject; the excellent friend of that excellent man from their earliest youth, and a common friend of us both, with whom we lived for many years without a moment of coldness, of peevishness, of jealousy, or of jar, to the day of our final separation.

" I ever looked upon Lord Keppel as one of the greatest and best men of his age; and I loved and cultivated him accordingly. He was much in my heart, and, I believe, I was in his to the very last beat. It was after his trial at Portsmouth that he gave me this picture. With what zeal and anxious affection I attended him through that his agony of glory! what part my son, in the early flush and enthusiasm of his virtue, and the pious passion with which he attached himself to all my connections, with what prodigality we both squandered ourselves in

courting almost every sort of enmity for his sake! I believe he felt, just as I should have felt, such friendship, on such an occasion. I partook indeed of this honour with several of the first and best and ablest men in the kingdom, but I was behindhand with none of them; and I am sure, that if, to the eternal disgrace of this nation, and to the total annihilation of every trace of honour and virtue in it, things had taken a different turn from what they did, I should have attended him to the quarter-deck with no less good-will, and more pride, though with far other feelings, than I partook of the general joy that attended the justice done to his virtue.

" Lord Keppel had two countries, one of descent, and one of birth. Their interest and their glory are the same, and his mind was capacious of both. His family was noble, and it was Dutch; that is, he was of the oldest and purest nobility that Europe can boast, among a people renowned above all others for love of their native land. Though it was never shewn in insult to any human being, Lord Keppel was something high. It was a wild stock of pride, on which the tenderest of all hearts had grafted the milder virtues. He valued ancient nobility, and he was not disinclined to augment it with new honours. He valued the old nobility and the new, not as an excuse for inglorious sloth, but as an incitement to virtuous activity. He considered it as a sort of cure for selfishness and a narrow mind. These sentiments he felt by the sure instinct of ingenuous feelings, and by the dictates of a plain, unsophisticated, natural understanding."

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL THE HON. JOHN BYRON.

IF a long succession of illustrious ancestors can make a man remarkable and great, there are few persons in whose favour we should be able to adduce more indisputable claims to superiority than the object of the present memoir: indeed, there are very few families in the English peerage which can boast a more illustrious descent than that of the Byrons.

Admiral the Hon. John Byron was the second son of William, the fourth Lord Byron, and Frances, his third wife, second daughter of William Lord Berkeley of Stratton. He was born on the 8th November, 1723; but at what particular time he first went to sea, or with whom he sailed, does not appear. Mr. Charnock, however, states that he was appointed a midshipman about the year 1731; but which we have reason to think is a mistake: that it was some years previous to his sailing in the squadron under Commodore Anson to the South Seas, there can be no doubt, as he was then seventeen years old. In this expedition it was his fortune, or rather misfortune, to be placed on board the Wager; and the distresses which he experienced after the loss of that vessel, claim no inconsiderable portion of the attention due to his memoirs. These distresses he has himself recorded in so artless, at the same time so affecting, a manner, that though the plan of this work will not allow us to go into any lengthened detail, we cannot refrain from noticing the most particular points of his interesting narrative, which contains a series of the most extraordinary adventures and examples of human suffering that perhaps ever came within the knowledge of mankind. Indeed, it is scarcely possible to trace the sufferings of those miserable creatures, without feeling the most exquisite sensibility at every step they take; while the heart involuntarily sympathizes in their distress, and throbs at every danger they encounter.

Although the incidents related in this narrative almost stagger credibility, they have no marks of the exaggeration of fiction; and while it serves to prove the amazing power of human nature in certain situations, it tends likewise to convince us, that there are scarcely any sufferings

which it is not capable of enduring, or difficulties which it is not able to surmount.

The squadron sailed from England in the month of September 1740; and the fate of the Wager appears to have been foretold from the first: she was an old Indiaman, bought into the service, fitted as a man of war, and appointed to convey the naval and military stores for the use of the squadron; and while her crew consisted of impressed seamen, the detachment of land-forces on board consisted of invalids from Chelsea Hospital. Nothing, however, of any importance occurred till they had almost gained the southernmost mouth of Straits Le Maire, when, by the sudden shifting of the wind and the turn of the tide, the ship was nearly being wrecked on the rocks of Staten Island. Having escaped this danger, she proceeded on her voyage, and kept company with the rest of the squadron for some time longer; when, by the roll of a heavy sea, her mizen-mast was carried away, and all the chain-plates to windward broken.

"Flung from the mast, the seamen strive in vain
Through hostile floods their vessel to regain;
The waves they buffet, till bereft of strength,
O'erpower'd, they yield to cruel fate at length.
The hostile waters close around their head—
They sink for ever, number'd with the dead."

Heavy gales succeeded, and a wave broke on the ship, which stove her boats, and nearly filled her with water. Thus shattered and disabled, with the rest of the squadron out of sight, the crew had the additional misfortune to find themselves driving for a lee shore:

"In dire amazement, riveted they stand,
And hear the breakers lash the rugged strand."

Orders were immediately given to alter the ship's course; but the wind had now increased to a perfect hurricane, and having only twelve men left fit for duty, their feeble efforts were rendered entirely useless. Night now approached and added to the horrors of the scene, while every moment served to convince the unhappy sufferers of their approaching fate: the sails tore from the yards, and the waves raged with dreadful violence;

"And now, lash'd on by destiny severe,
With horror fraught, the dreadful scene drew near:
The ship hangs hovering on the verge of death;
Hell yawns, rocks rise, and breakers roar beneath."

About four in the morning she struck with such force as to lay her upon her beam-ends, when the sea made a fair breach over her.

Every person that could now stir was soon upon deck: terror for a while gave the energy of health and strength even to the sick, and many of those who for months before had not left their beds, were seen alert and active; while several poor wretches, who were in the last stage of the scurvy, and unable to crawl, were drowned in their hammocs. In this dreadful situation the ship lay for some time, every person on board expecting that instant to be his last, when a mountainous sea hove her off; but she shortly after grounded between two rocks, when,

> "Down in the vale of death, with dismal cries,
> The fated victims, shuddering, roll their eyes
> In wild despair; while yet another stroke
> With deep convulsion rends the solid oak."

In this terrifying and critical conjuncture, to have observed all the various modes of horror operating according to the several characters and complexions of the crew, it would have been necessary for the observer himself, as Mr. Byron remarks, in order to give a true description of them, to have been free from all impressions of danger. He has, however, described the various circumstances, and the effect they had upon his companions, apparently with such a degree of correctness, and to have conducted himself throughout this trying occasion in such a way, as prove that he was more interested in what was passing round him, than with the danger to which he was himself exposed; and that he possessed a presence of mind, which rendered him capable of acting in most sudden cases of peril, that is seldom found in one of his years. He describes one man who, in the ravings despair brought upon him, as walking about the deck, flourishing a cutlass over his head, and calling himself king of the country, and striking every one he came near, till his companions, seeing no other security against his tyranny, knocked him down; whilst others, reduced by sickness, became like inanimate logs, and were tossed to and fro by the rolling of the ship, without making the least effort to help themselves. That one of the bravest men was with difficulty prevented from throwing himself into the sea, saying, it was too shocking a sight to bear. At the same time there were others, whose calmness, intrepidity, and presence of mind were truly heroic. The man at the helm, though both rudder and tiller were gone, kept his station; and being asked by one of the officers if the ship would steer, first took

time to make trial by the wheel, and then answered with as much coolness and respect as if the ship had been in the greatest safety; and immediately after applied himself with his usual serenity to his duty, persuaded it did not become him to desert it so long as the ship held together. Mr. Jones, mate, not only shewed himself undaunted, but endeavoured to inspire the same resolution in the men, saying, "My friends, let us not be dismayed! Did you never see a ship amongst breakers before? Let us try to push her through: come, lend a hand; here's a sheet, and here's a brace, lay hold: I don't doubt but we may get her yet near enough to the land to save our lives." This had so good an effect, that many, who before were half-dead, seemed active again, and now went to work in earnest. This Mr. Jones did purely to keep up the spirits of the people as long as possible; for he said afterwards, he thought there was not the least chance of a single man being saved.

The day having dawned, gave them a glimpse of the land, when every effort was made to get the boats out, and save the crew. "The scene was now changed, for many who but a few minutes before had shewn the strongest signs of despair, and were on their knees praying for mercy, imagining they were not now in that immediate danger, grew riotous, broke open every chest and box that was at hand, stove in casks of brandy, and got so drunk, that several of them were drowned on board, and lay floating about the deck for some days afterwards." Before quitting the wreck, Mr. Byron went below to endeavour to save a few things, but all his efforts proved ineffectual. The prospect on landing appeared to him as dismal, and the dangers likely to be experienced as great, as those from which they had just escaped. "Whichever way we looked," he says, "a scene of horror presented itself: on one side the wreck (in which was all that we had in the world to subsist on), together with a boisterous sea, presented us with the most dreary prospect: on the other hand, the land did not present a much more favourable appearance; desolate and barren, without sign of culture, we could hope to receive little other benefit from it than the preservation it afforded from the sea. It must be confessed this was a great and merciful deliverance from immediate destruction, but then we had wet, cold, and hunger to struggle with, and no visible remedy against any of these evils." On reaching the land the only sign of habitation that presented itself was an Indian hut, in which as many as possible crowded themselves, without distinction of rank; while others, not so fortunate, took

shelter under the trees. The rain poured down in torrents, and a dark and boisterous night succeeded; and, to add to their miseries, they were under an apprehension of an attack from the natives. On the return of day, it was discovered that a lieutenant of invalids had died in the hut, and that two had died under the trees, from the severity of the weather.

It would greatly exceed our limits were we to detail the whole of the miseries and hardships experienced by Mr. Byron and his companions on this distressing occasion; but that the reader may be enabled to judge somewhat of their sufferings from hunger, we shall make one or two short extracts. For some time they had supported themselves by what floated ashore from the wreck, by shooting some wild fowl, and by picking up some shell-fish on the beach: "but this rummaging of the shore was now become extremely irksome to those who had any feeling, by the bodies of our deceased people thrown among the rocks, some of which were hideous spectacles, from the mangled condition they were in by the violent surf that drove them in upon the coast. These horrors were, however, overcome by the distresses of the people, who were even glad of the occasion of killing the gallinazo, the carrion-crow of the country, while preying on the carcases, in order to make a meal of them." Again, "a boy having picked up the liver of one of the drowned men, whose carcase had been torn to pieces by the force with which the sea drove it among the rocks, was with difficulty withheld from making a meal of it. The men were so assiduous in their research after the few things that drove from the wreck, that, in order to have no sharers in their good fortune, they examined the shore no less by night than by day; so that many of those who were less alert, or not so fortunate as their neighbours, perished with hunger."

In consequence of the desperate situation they were in, and having no hopes of relief, they grew dissatisfied with each other, which shewed itself in various ways: in some by merely removing a short distance from the captain, and having a separate habitation; in others, by removing entirely from the place, and who strayed into the woods, where they doubtless perished, having never been heard of afterwards. "For my own part," says Mr. Byron, "seeing it was the fashion, and liking none of their parties, I built a little hut, just big enough for myself and a poor Indian dog I found in the wood, who could shift for himself along shore at low water by getting limpets. This creature grew so fond of me and faithful, that he would suffer nobody to come near me without

biting them." Mr. Byron, however, was not suffered to enjoy the company of this faithful animal long; "for, one day," he continues, "when I was at home in my hut with my Indian dog, a party came to my door, and told me their necessities were such that they must eat the creature or starve. Though their plea was urgent, I could not help using some arguments to endeavour to dissuade them from killing him, as his faithful services and fondness deserved it at my hands: but without weighing my arguments, they took him away by force and killed him; upon which, thinking I had at least as good a right to a share as the rest, I sat down with them, and partook of the repast. Three weeks after that, I was glad to make a meal of his paws and skin, which, upon recollecting the spot where they had killed him, I found thrown aside and rotten."

Ever since the unfortunate loss of the Wager, it was the intention of Captain Cheap, the commander, to endeavour to proceed to the northward as far as the Island of Chiloe, where he was in hopes of being able to cut out some Spanish vessel, and either proceed in search of the commodore, or be better able to return to the southward. But a total disagreement existed among the survivors, the majority of whom were for repassing the Straits of Magellan in the boats; and as soon as they had undergone such repairs as circumstances enabled them to bestow upon them, this resolution was put into effect, when eighty-one individuals, including Mr. Byron, embarked on board the long-boat, the yawl, and cutter; leaving Captain Cheap, Mr. Hamilton of the marines, the surgeon, and eight others, with the barge behind. It was at first intended to convey Captain Cheap on board by force, and it was under this impression that Mr. Byron was induced to consent to be one of the party; but at the moment of embarkation, several individuals having remonstrated with the directors of this movement, the plan was given up. The following day Mr. Byron and eight other persons took an opportunity of returning in the yawl to Captain Cheap, determined to follow the fortunes of their commander. Upon this accession of force, which increased Captain Cheap's party to twenty persons, he determined to put his original intention of proceeding northward into effect. About the 15th December they set out on this expedition in the two boats, but about three weeks afterwards had the misfortune to lose the yawl, which upset and sunk; by which lamentable accident one man was drowned, and they were obliged to leave four others behind, the barge being incapable of containing the whole number. These poor fellows

made but little objection to their fate, so exceedingly disheartened and worn out were they with the distresses, difficulties, and dangers they had already gone through: indeed, it seemed a matter of indifference to the greater part whether they should embark, or remain and take their chance. In short, so reduced were they both in strength and spirits, so perfectly resigned were they to their fate, that when they came to a steep headland, and found it impossible to get the boat round, the waves breaking half a mile from the shore, and the sea running mountains high, the men lay involuntarily on their oars, and no one spoke, till they were carried very near the breakers, when the captain told them they must pull stoutly off shore or perish, but they might do as they liked! They, however, chose once more to exert themselves, and, after infinite difficulty, they succeeded. They, however, in vain combated all the dangers of that tempestuous sea, and after having struggled against insurmountable difficulties for nearly two months, were obliged to return to the desolate spot from whence they set out, where

> "Those who remain their fearful doom await,
> Nor longer mourn their lost companions' fate."

Soon after their arrival, a party of Indians, in two canoes, came into the bay; and their chief, or cacique, understanding a little Spanish, was prevailed on to conduct them to one of the Spanish settlements. Their number was now reduced to thirteen; and in a few days after, proceeding on their voyage, their number suffered a further diminution by one of the men dying at the oar, when Mr. Byron was obliged to take his place. Subsequent to this, having landed to procure provisions, six of the men put to sea in the barge, and were never heard of more. This, as Mr. Byron describes it, appeared to be the perfecting of their misery; and yet it afterwards proved the means of shortening the duration of their troubles. The boat, with some other articles, was to have become the property of the cacique, as a reward for his trouble, and they now greatly feared he would proceed no further: but having found means to pacify him, they proceeded in their course with much more speed than they could have done with the barge; still in their progress suffering almost every hardship that the human body is capable of enduring. Proceeding onward, they came to a landing-place, when they disembarked, unloaded their canoes, took them to pieces, and distributed them among the company. Mr. Byron had a piece of wet canvas, in

which was some stinking seal's flesh, a weight sufficient for a strong man, and therefore particularly burdensome to one in his condition. Their way lay through a thick wood, the bottom of which was a mere quagmire, most part of it up to their knees, and in some places up to their middle; besides which, they were continually treading on the stumps of trees, which were hidden under water, and which greatly increased the sufferings they experienced. Before they had proceeded half a mile, Mr. Byron, who had neither shoe nor stocking on, had his feet and legs so dreadfully torn and wounded, that for a time he was unable to proceed, and he soon found himself alone. In endeavouring to regain his companions, he fell off a tree that crossed the road into a deep swamp, and narrowly escaped drowning. It was a long while before he could extricate himself from this difficulty, and when he did, his strength was quite exhausted. In this extremity his confidence and resolution appear to have forsaken him; he sat down under a tree, and gave vent to the most melancholy reflections. Being sensible, however, that this despondency would answer no good end, he arose, and marking a great tree, deposited his burden, not being able to carry it further, and set out to join his companions. After some hours' pursuit, he found them seated under a tree, and sat down beside them, without a word passing on either side for some time, when Captain Cheap inquired after the seal and canvas. Mr. Byron recounted the disaster he had met with, but to no purpose—

> "The heart that bleeds with sorrows all its own,
> Forgets the pangs of friendship to bemoan;"

and instead of receiving any commiseration, he heard nothing but grumbling from every one for the irreparable loss sustained. Mr. Byron made no reply, but after resting himself a little, got up, and walked back five miles to the tree he had marked, and did not rejoin his companions till they were on the point of embarking. He was not allowed to go with them, but was desired to wait for some other Indians that were to follow; but who they were, or where they were to come from, he knew not. He was now left alone in the wilds of America, without any thing to eat, not even a bit of the stinking seal's flesh which had caused him so much trouble and anxiety. Having fixed his eyes on the boat till it was out of sight, he then returned into the wood, and seating himself at the root of a tree, for a while forgot his troubles in sleep. On his awaking in the morning he heard some voices, and advancing a little

into the wood, perceived a wigwam, and attempted to enter it, but was repulsed with kicks and blows. He then retired to a distance, till an old woman made signs to him to draw near, which he very readily did, and then entered the hut, in which were three men and two women, from whom he received a piece of seal's flesh, which proved a most seasonable and delicious repast. With these Indians he embarked, and proceeded to the mouth of a very rapid river, where they put ashore for the night. The Indians erected a wigwam, but would not suffer Mr. Byron to enter it, nor did they give him any thing to eat. In the morning they again proceeded, and at night put ashore on a stony beach, when Mr. Byron was again left to himself. It rained violently, and the night was very dark; he laid down on the beach, half-side in the water, and which he thought a preferable situation to getting into a swamp under a dropping tree. In this dismal situation he fell asleep, but in three or four hours awaked in the most dreadful agonies with the cramp, and thought he must have died on the spot. He attempted several times to raise himself on his legs, but could not. At last he crawled towards a fire he saw at some distance in the woods; and when he reached it, he threw himself almost into it, in hopes of finding some relief from the pain. This intrusion gave great offence to the Indians, who by kicking and beating drove him some distance from it: he, however, contrived, a little after, to place himself in such a situation as to receive some warmth from the fire, and by that means he got rid of the cramp. The following evening they put ashore at a convenient place to gather limpets; and though at this time he was almost starving, he did not attempt to eat one, lest he should lose a moment in gathering them. Having filled his hat, he resumed his seat at the oar, and placed them beside him, occasionally eating one, and throwing the shell into the sea: the Indians observing this, seized him by the throat and legs, and were going to throw him overboard, when the old woman interfered and prevented it. He was ignorant of the offence he had committed, till he observed that the Indians, after eating the limpets, carefully put the shells in a heap at the bottom of the boat. In a few hours afterwards they landed on an island, when Byron plucked a bunch of berries from a tree, and was going to eat them, when one of the Indians snatched them out of his hand, and threw them away, making him to understand that they were poisonous: thus, in all probability, did they preserve that life which a few hours before they were going to take away.

In two days after he rejoined his three companions, when they embarked together; and after encountering many difficulties and dangers, similar to those we have already related, at last reached the Island of Chiloe, where they were received with the greatest hospitality by the natives, who seemed to vie with each other who should shew the most kindness towards them. From thence they were conducted to Chaco, where they frequently dined with the governor; but appear to have been very much dissatisfied with the number of fast-days that he kept. However, to make amends for this inconvenience, Mr. Byron made friends of the steward and cook, by which means he always carried his pockets full to his apartments, where he passed his time very agreeably. Here they had leave to walk about the town, where every house was open to them; and though it was but an hour after they had dined, the owners always spread a table the moment they went in, thinking they never could eat enough after what they had suffered: an opinion, says Mr. Byron, which exactly corresponded with that of himself and his companions.

Some time after they were removed to Valparaiso, where they were committed to prison by the governor. The curiosity of the people was here so great, that the prison was full from morning till night. In a few days, Captain Cheap and Mr. Hamilton were ordered to St. Jago; but Mr. Byron and Mr. Campbell still remained in confinement, and were treated with so much rigour, as to excite the compassion not only of the spectators, but of the soldier who was appointed to guard them. This good man, though he had a wife and six children, generously laid aside one half of his pay for the support of his prisoners, although he could never have the smallest hope or expectation of any recompence.

An order having been received to send Mr. Byron and Mr. Campbell to St. Jago, the governor gave them in custody to one of the mule-drivers who carried merchandise to that city. This man Mr. Byron describes as a very honest, simple-hearted fellow, who advised him seriously not to think of remaining at St. Jago, where, he said, there was nothing but extravagance, vice, and folly; but to proceed on with him as a mule-driver, which, he assured him, he would soon be very expert at, and that it was an innocent and happy life, far preferable to any enjoyment so great a city could afford. Mr. Byron thanked him, and told him he would try the city first, and if he did not like it, he would accept the offer he was so good as to make.

Mr. Byron and his companions remained at St. Jago about two years, passing their time in a very agreeable manner, receiving invitations and the most marked and polite attention from the principal inhabitants. After remaining that time, the governor received information that a French ship had put into Valparaiso, when it was determined that Captain Cheap, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Byron should return to Europe in her*: they accordingly set out for that city, and the first person they met on their entrance, was the poor soldier from whom Mr. Byron had received so much kindness. Mr. Byron had it now in his power to return the obligation, and as it was quite unexpected, it became the more pleasant.

On the 20th December, 1744, they embarked on board the Lys frigate, belonging to St. Maloes, and after a long and dangerous passage, arrived in Brest roads on the 31st October following. About three months afterwards, they were released by an order from the court of Spain, and soon after embarked on board a Dutch lugger at Morlaix for England; but in the Channel they met with the Squirrel man of war, the captain of which took them out, and sent them in his cutter to Dover.

Mr. Byron concludes his narrative with the following description of his journey to London: " We immediately set out for Canterbury on post-horses; but Captain Cheap was so tired by the time he got there, that he could proceed no further that night. The next morning he still found himself so much fatigued, that he could ride no longer: therefore it was agreed that he and Mr. Hamilton should take a post-chaise, and that I should ride. But here an unlucky difficulty was started, for upon sharing the little money we had, it was found to be not sufficient to pay the charges to London; and my portion fell so short, that it was, by calculation, barely enough to pay for horses, without a farthing for eating a bit upon the road, or even for the very turnpikes: these I was obliged to defraud by riding as hard as I could through them all, not paying the least regard to the men, who called out to stop me. The want of refreshment I bore as well as I could. When I got to the Borough I took a coach, and drove to Marlborough-street, where my friends lived when I left England; but when I came there I found the house shut up. Having been absent so many years, and in all that time never having heard a word from home, I knew not who was dead, or who was living, or where to go next, or even how to pay the coachman. I recollected a linen-draper's shop not far from thence, which our family had used; I

* Mr. Campbell, having changed his religion, had left them.

therefore drove there next, and making myself known, they paid the coachman. I then inquired after our family, and was told my sister had married Lord Carlisle, and was at that time in Soho-square. I immediately walked to the house, and knocked at the door; but the porter, not liking my figure, which was half French, half Spanish, with the addition of a large pair of boots covered with dirt, was going to shut the door in my face, but I at last prevailed with him to let me come in."

Shortly after his arrival, he was promoted to be commander of a sloop of war; and on the 30th December following was advanced to post-rank, and to the command of the Syren frigate. After the termination of hostilities, he was appointed to the St. Albans, and accompanied Commodore Buckle to the coast of Guinea, for the protection of the British settlements in that quarter; the French government having sent three ships of war there, the commander of which had been found tampering with the natives*. Having returned to England in January 1753, he was appointed to command the Augusta of 60 guns, stationed as a guard-ship at Plymouth; which he continued to hold for two years, when a rupture with France being daily apprehended, he was removed to the Vanguard of 70 guns; and in January 1756, he sailed with Admiral Osborn to observe the movements of the enemy at Brest. Captain Byron continued on the station during the remainder of the year, serving under the command of Admirals Hawke and Knowles. In 1757, he commanded the America of 60 guns; and in the autumn of that year, sailed with the large fleet under Sir E. Hawke against Rochefort. After which, he commanded a small squadron, consisting of his own ship (the America), the Brilliant, Captain H. Parker, and the Coventry, Captain Scroop, which were ordered to cruise off the coast of France; in which he appears to have been very successful, having taken and retaken several merchantmen and privateers, amongst which were the Dragon of 24 guns, and the Intrepid of 14 guns.

In 1758, he served in the Channel fleet under Lord Anson; and in the following year we find him on board the Fame, in the fleet under the command of Sir E. Hawke; but the line of service in which he was employed did not afford him any opportunity to distinguish himself.

At the commencement of 1760, he was dispatched with a small squadron†, having the rank of commodore, with a proper number of engi-

* Entick.

† Fame, Dorsetshire, Achilles, Repulse, and Scarborough.

neers, to demolish the fortifications of Louisbourg, which he effectually accomplished. While employed on this important service, he received information that a squadron of French ships of war, consisting of two 50-gun ships, three frigates, with several transports, having troops on board, were in Chaleur Bay; and thinking that no opportunity of crushing the enemy's power ought to be neglected, he proceeded thither with his squadron, and arrived in the bay on the 24th June; but was surprised to find only the Michault of 32 guns, the Bienfaisant of 22, and the Marquise de Marloze of 16, with a number of small vessels.

The commodore having been separated from his squadron, arrived some time before the rest of his ships. As soon as he made his appearance, the enemy landed their troops, and erected a battery to prevent his getting further up the bay. This gave a great deal of interruption to the boats employed in sounding, and considerably retarded the operation; but it having been steadily pursued, and successfully executed, the commodore proceeded up the bay, and bringing his broadside to bear on the battery, poured such a heavy fire into it, that the enemy abandoned their works, and fled with their ships to the upper end of the bay, where they had a considerable settlement, and where, from the shallowness of the water, they thought themselves secure: but being anxious to take every precaution to ensure their safety, they erected two batteries on opposite points of land, which projected into the bay; the entrance between them being very narrow, they placed the two largest ships so as to bear upon it with their broadsides, and seemed resolved to make an obstinate defence, should any attack be made upon them.

The remainder of the British squadron having arrived, the commodore determined to lose no time in attacking the enemy; the frigates were warped close up to the batteries, notwithstanding they kept up a continual fire upon them as they advanced. The weakest battery being silenced, the frigates brought their broadsides to bear on the strongest one, and on the enemy's ships at the same time; when, after an action of some hours, the Michault struck her colours: but before she could be taken possession of, the enemy set her and the Bienfaisant on fire, and landed their crews. On board the Marquise de Marloze were about seventy British prisoners, who dreaded every moment that the ship they were in would share the same fate, as the enemy had abandoned her, and carried away all her boats. With the greatest difficulty these unfortunate people forced open the hatches, which the enemy perceiving, they

had the barbarity to fire on them from the shore, but fortunately did no execution. In this disagreeable situation they remained till dark, when one of them swam on board the Repulse, and gave information of their condition*. The boats were immediately ordered out, and being manned and armed, under cover of the fire of the frigates, passed the enemy's battery, reached the Marquise de Marloze, took out the prisoners, and set the ship on fire. The enemy now fled into the woods; and next day the village, which consisted of upwards of two hundred houses, with the prize-ships and small craft, together with the whole settlement, were effectually destroyed. Thus had Mr. Byron the good fortune to render the most important service to his country, by frustrating the last attempt of the French government to recover possession of Quebec; and this he effected with the loss of twelve killed and as many wounded.

Having completed the destruction of the fortifications at Louisbourg, and scoured the coast of the enemy's shipping, the commodore returned to England with his squadron.

In the spring of 1761, he sailed with Commodore Buckle, who had under him thirteen sail of the line, to cruise off Brest, in order to prevent the enemy from sending any supplies to the garrison of Bellisle, at that time attacked by Admiral Keppel. In this service Captain Byron continued till the end of the war, serving under different commanders; but as this line of service affords but few opportunities for an officer to distinguish himself, further than by a display of zeal, alacrity, and attention to the service in general, we do not find him particularly mentioned during its continuance.

Hostilities having ceased, the British government considered it a favourable opportunity for carrying into execution a design which had long been entertained of sending some vessels to explore such parts of the South Sea as were imperfectly known: accordingly the Dolphin of 20 guns, and the Tamar of 16 guns, were ordered to be equipped for that purpose, and Captain Byron, in consequence of the high opinion entertained of his professional skill and judgment, was selected to command them. He sailed from Plymouth on the 3d July, 1764, and arrived off the Brasilian coast in September: here he remained one month, and then proceeded to the coast of Patagonia, where a very friendly intercourse was held with the natives. After leaving this dreary spot, the commodore steered for Falkland's Islands, which he reached in

* *Annual Register*, Beatson.

January following, and anchored in a fine harbour, which he named Port Egmont, in honour of the First Lord of the Admiralty. Of this harbour and all the adjacent islands he took formal possession in the name of the King of England. The necessary surveys being completed, he proceeded on his voyage; but nothing of any particular importance occurred.

" After clearing the straits of Magellan, the commodore steered for Masafuena, where he anchored. He afterwards proceeded to the 14th degree of southern latitude, and in longitude 144° west, discovered a cluster of small islands, which he named the Isles of Disappointment. This discovery affords a remarkable instance of the effect of good or bad luck in the success of individuals. It might have occurred to Commodore Byron, that these points and peaks of land, placed thus, as it were, midway in the ocean between America and Asia, might probably be connected with other islands of greater extent. The more adventurous Cooke found in the neighbourhood of Byron's Isles of Disappointment the numerous Archipelago of the Society Islands, and in Otaheite the most civilized aboriginal race that has been discovered since the days of Columbus. This fact serves to shew, that every enterprize which proceeds on expectation, should be formed on some previous hypothetical knowledge. The genius of Byron had no speculative bias. In patience, fortitude, and intrepidity, he was in no respect inferior to Captain Cooke; but he was not gifted, like him, with that prophetic conviction of the existence of undiscovered things, which gave to his attempts a systematic consistency of procedure, and led him through the most remote and unexplored tracts of the ocean, with a degree of confidence that can only be compared to the faith with which the ordinary seaman prosecutes a well-known and prescribed voyage."

In confirmation of what is alleged of the infirmity of this gallant officer's genius for discovery, it may be mentioned, that in the afternoon of the day following his departure from the Islands of Disappointment, he fell in with other inhabited islands; he even saw a village on the coast, and many hundreds of the inhabitants prepared to defend their country: yet, notwithstanding these striking circumstances, he does not appear to have been actuated by any curiosity to explore them. On the contrary, he doubted the existence altogether of the Archipelago which had been laid down in the maps by the name of Solomon's Islands; although, allowing for an erroneous reckoning in the first observers, those to which

he gave the name of King George's Islands were probably belonging to it. What renders this apathy of Commodore Byron the more remarkable, is, that although he judged by the swell of the sea, and by the flocks of birds which he observed in the evening flying southward, that there must be land in that direction; and states, in the journal of his voyage, that he could only account for the Islands of Disappointment and King George being peopled, by supposing that there was a chain of islets reaching towards a continent, he made no attempt to discover it; assigning as a reason, that the sickness of his men was an insuperable impediment. This, however, was the very reason which ought to have induced him to endeavour to make his way towards the nearest land; and the probability, from the signs which he had noticed, was, that the undiscovered land was nearer than either Asia or America.

On the 16th November, he entered the straits of Banca; and on the 27th of the same month, anchored in Batavia roads, from whence he sailed on the 9th December, and arrived in Table Bay 14th February, 1766. Having taken on board such articles of refreshment as they stood in need of, they sailed from thence on the 2d March, and after a short and prosperous voyage, came to anchor in the Downs on the 9th May; having been absent from England little more than a year and ten months, being the shortest time in which the world was ever encompassed before.

The Dolphin having been paid off, Captain Byron held no further command till January 1769, when he was appointed governor of Newfoundland, which he held during the period usually allotted to such commands; but nothing occurred during that time material enough to merit particular attention.

On the 31st March, 1775, he was advanced to be rear-admiral of the Blue; and on the 29th January, 1778, to be vice-admiral of the Blue.

The dispute with America had now continued three years, with various success on the part of the combatants, during which time the government of France had shewn the most marked partiality towards the colonists; had secretly aided and assisted them with men, money, and warlike stores; and now openly acknowledged the line of conduct she intended to pursue: she fitted out a squadron of twelve sail of the line at Toulon, under the command of Count d'Estaing, and ordered him to proceed to the coast of America.

A fleet of thirteen ships of the line was therefore dispatched to reinforce the British squadron on that station, the command of which was

conferred on Admiral Byron, who, having hoisted his flag on board the Princess Royal of 90 guns, sailed from Plymouth June 9, 1778; but his passage proved particularly unfortunate, and the object of the expedition was thereby rendered nearly abortive. On the 3d July, the squadron was overtaken by a violent storm, which entirely dispersed it; so that on the evening of the following day, when the storm abated, the Princess Royal, Invincible, Culloden, and Guadaloupe, were the only ships in company; and during the remainder of the voyage, these ships separated through distress of weather. Vexatious as these unfavourable circumstances were to the feelings of Admiral Byron, the mortification was greatly increased on his arrival off the coast of America, where he discovered the French fleet at anchor in such a position, to the south of the Navisink, that there was no possibility of his entering Sandy Hook, and was consequently obliged to bear away for Halifax, where he found the Culloden of 74 guns. Having refitted these two ships, he sailed for Rhode Island, and had there an interview with Lord Howe on the situation of affairs in America. On the following day, he proceeded to Sandy Hook, joined the fleet under Admiral Gambier, and assumed the chief command.

The squadron having been prepared for sea, the admiral sailed on the 18th October for Boston Bay, in search of D'Estaing; but the same unfortunate disposition of weather which had already produced such unhappy effects, still followed him, and marred all his operations. Scarcely had he arrived on that station, when he experienced a violent gale of wind, during which the Somerset ran ashore at Cape Cod, and was lost. The Culloden was dismasted, and being driven far to the eastward, could not regain the American coast; after suffering severely, she bore away for England. This untoward circumstance afforded an opportunity to D'Estaing, which he immediately embraced, of quitting Boston and proceeding to Martinique, whither he was pursued by Admiral Byron, as soon as his ships were in a condition to follow; but on his progress thither, he was again attended with the most unfavourable weather: the Fame was totally dismasted, the Trident had her main-mast sprung in four places, and considerable damage was done to the other ships of the squadron. He, however, formed a junction with Admiral Barrington on the 7th January, 1779, in Gros Islet Bay, where the French squadron had been parading for some time before, but hearing of Admiral Byron's approach, had retired to Martinique, where the

French admiral received such exaggerated accounts of the shattered condition in which the British squadron arrived in the West Indies, that, conjecturing the crews would be busily employed in refitting the ships, and not expecting any attack, they would be lying in disorder and unprepared for action, he put to sea on the 12th with thirteen sail of the line, and stretched over to St. Lucia. Intelligence of this movement being brought to Admiral Byron, he got under weigh early on the following morning, and with a press of sail stood for the French squadron in a line of battle ahead; but as soon as D'Estaing discovered the British fleet, he tacked about, and made all the haste he could to regain his former anchorage, which he accomplished before it was possible to bring any of his ships to action.

The vice-admiral having been joined by Rear-Admiral Rowley with a reinforcement of ships of the line, he ordered him to proceed with a squadron to cruise to windward of Martinique, in hopes of intercepting the supplies expected by the enemy; but notwithstanding this precaution, M. de Grasse, with four or five sail of the line, effected his entrance into that island. After this disappointment, the vice-admiral ordered some detachments from his fleet occasionally to cruise to windward, and others between the Islands of Martinique and St. Lucia, for the purpose of intercepting the enemy's commerce, protecting that of England, and affording assistance to the small craft when reconnoitring the strength and position of the French squadron in Fort Royal. One of these detachments having been carried greatly to leeward, D'Estaing put to sea with fifteen sail of the line, in hopes of cutting it off; when Admiral Byron, seeing the improbability of the detachment being able to fetch Gros Islet Bay, immediately slipped his cables, and with the utmost dispatch made directly for the French squadron. Although the reinforcements received on both sides still kept the hostile fleets in a state of equality, and in this instance were of the same number of ships, no sooner did D'Estaing discover the English squadron, than he tacked about, and retreated to Fort Royal with all the sail he could carry, followed by Admiral Byron, who stood into the bay, and challenged him to action: but nothing could induce the French admiral to hazard an engagement; he was too wary a commander, he played too sure a game, to risk the chance of any battle where the odds were not greatly in his favour; and he chose rather to suffer the taunts of his enemy under circumstances of apparent disgrace, than allow himself to be drawn into

any combat where the smallest doubt existed as to the result. At the same time it must be confessed, that circumstances subsequently occurred which fully rewarded him for the pertinacity with which he adhered to his system. The trade from the different West India Islands bound to England assembled at St. Christopher's about the middle of June, and as M. la Mothe Piquet was on his way to join D'Estaing with a strong reinforcement of ships of the line, it became necessary that a formidable squadron should proceed with the merchantmen to a certain latitude; but it was then found, that this would so far weaken the main body as to render it incapable of contending with D'Estaing, who would, moreover, be at liberty to pursue the convoy with his whole force, and to which it must have fallen an easy sacrifice. The situation of Admiral Byron was therefore extremely difficult and precarious; but taking into consideration the great importance of the trading ships, he determined to escort them with all the force under his command. Though this was evidently the best course he could pursue, it served to prove, that "no wisdom in the design, or judgment in the execution, can at all times prevent measures from proving unfortunate." But then Admiral Byron had the consolation to know, that the result could not be avoided by the means which he had at his disposal.

As soon as the departure of Admiral Byron was known to the French admiral, he dispatched a force against the Island of St. Vincent, which surrendered without opposition. Encouraged by this success, and having been joined by five sail of the line, with a convoy of naval and military stores, and a supply of troops, he embarked 6500 land forces, and with twenty-five sail of the line and twelve large frigates, made an attack on the Island of Granada July 2d.

Admiral Byron having seen the trade to such a distance as he judged would free them from danger, returned to Gros Islet Bay, where he arrived on the 1st July, and where he learned that the enemy had made themselves masters of St. Vincent. It was immediately determined, after a consultation with General Grant, the commander of the troops, to attempt the recovery of that island*; and the necessary orders were issued for that purpose: immediately after which, intelligence was received that a large fleet had been seen that morning standing for Granada. The vice-admiral therefore wrote to Lord Macartney, to inform him of the steps he was pursuing; and at the same time assured his lordship,

* *Gazette.*

that if he should hear, either at St. Vincent or on his passage, that Granada was attacked, he would immediately come to his assistance. The vice-admiral also sent an officer in a fast-sailing schooner, to look into Fort Royal, Martinique: this officer reported, on his return, that he saw thirteen large ships, which he supposed to be ships of war; that he was confirmed in this opinion by observing that one of the ships carried a flag at the fore-top-gallant mast-head; but that he was prevented from observing them so closely as he intendeded, by a frigate and some smaller vessels being sent in chase of him. This intelligence deceived Admiral Byron very much, as it led him to conjecture, that the force sent against Granada was but small*; he therefore ordered the Suffolk and Boyne to continue with the transports: but on discovering the enemy's force, they were directed to resume their station in the line.

The utmost dispatch having been used in embarking the troops, the squadron, consisting of twenty-one sail of the line and one frigate, put to sea on the 3d July, and made for St. Vincent. On his passage thither, the admiral received the unwelcome intelligence, by a person who had put off from St. Vincent, that the fleet which passed that island on the 1st consisted of thirty ships of war; and that D'Estaing had been joined by La Mothe Piquet: he therefore immediately altered his course for Granada; but it unfortunately fell calm, and continued so till the morning of the 5th. In the course of that day he was joined by two schooners from Granada, by which the invasion of that island was confirmed; but the intelligence they brought respecting the strength of the enemy was very imperfect and contradictory, and also represented Lord Macartney as being able to hold out for several days. In this state of ignorance as to the strength of the enemy and the circumstances of the island, Admiral Byron arrived in sight of the French fleet at daybreak on the morning of the 6th. The enemy having received information of his approach, were getting under weigh; and those which had not already weighed their anchors, immediately slipped their cables, and kept stretching out to sea, but apparently in great confusion. It was the object of Admiral Byron to bring the enemy to a general and close engagement, not only as that mode of fighting had been usually attended

* The French admiral, foreseeing this step, previous to his sailing, ordered the largest ships in the bay, consisting of transports and ships armed *en flute*, to hoist pendants and ensigns of distinction, for the express purpose of deceiving the English admiral; and as Lieutenant Duckworth, whom he sent to reconnoitre, did not approach near enough to observe them correctly, it had the desired effect.

with the most brilliant success, but as a means of obtaining that decided superiority in those seas which the interest of his country demanded. With this view, he threw out the signal for a general chase, which was soon followed by that for the ships to engage and form as they came up. About seven o'clock, Vice-Admiral Barrington in the Prince of Wales, Captain Sawyer in the Boyne, and Captain Gardner in the Sultan, being the headmost ships, came within reach of the enemy, and had to sustain their whole fire, the rest of the British squadron being becalmed under the island. At length the Grafton, Captain Collingwood, the Cornwall, Captain Edwards, the Lion, Captain Cornwallis, the Monmouth, Captain Fanshawe, and some other ships, having got the breeze, came to their assistance, when the signal was made for close action; but notwithstanding the utmost exertions were made by the different captains of the fleet to effect this object, the superior sailing of the enemy's ships enabled them to keep what distance they chose, and to frustrate all the endeavours of the British admiral. D'Estaing still adhered to his former system, and was determined not to risk honour on the doubtful issue of a general action; he fought to defend conquests he had lately made, and resolved to hazard nothing that could be avoided. The engagement was consequently partial, several ships of the rear division not having exchanged a single shot with the enemy, while those in the van suffered severely, which, from there being little or no wind, was entirely out of Admiral Byron's power to avoid: the utmost exertions were used to bring on a close and general action, but the skill of the admiral and the bravery of the men were unable to effect it. This was the only circumstance that we have heard of that ever ruffled the admiral's temper, or destroyed that equanimity for which he was so remarkable: but on this occasion he could not help exclaiming, with all the bitterness of anguish, that he had been persecuted with hurricanes all his life; he had experienced more storms than any man living; he had scarcely ever sailed without being attended with the most violent gales of wind; and now, when he wanted its support, the only time it could be of service, not a breeze would come to his assistance.

During the heat of the battle some of the English squadron had forced their way to the entrance of the harbour of St. George, when they not only observed the enemy's colours on the fort, but were fired upon from the batteries. The main object of the British admiral, the affording of relief to the island, no longer existed; it was already in the

hands of the enemy, and the inferiority of the forces under his command rendered any effort at recovery too hazardous to be attempted. The care of the transports, which had been a clog to him during the action, and the protection of the disabled ships, were now the chief objects of consideration. Perceiving that several of the latter were so cut up in their masts and rigging as to prevent them keeping up with the squadron, he called in the signal for a general chase, but kept that flying for close action; formed the best line which circumstances would admit, and kept the wind, to prevent the enemy doubling upon him and cutting off the transports, which they seemed inclined to attempt, and which, from the number of their frigates, they had it very much in their power to perform.

About three o'clock, the enemy tacked to the southward, with the evident intention of separating the disabled ships, which were now a great way to leeward. This manœuvre obliged Admiral Byron to do the same, that he might be enabled to assist them; when the French admiral finding he could not succeed in his design, without risking a more general engagement, contented himself with firing on those ships when passing barely within gun-shot. Nothing can place the high estimation in which the enemy held the prowess of British seamen in a clearer point of view, than his permitting these ships to rejoin the squadron, except the circumstance of the Lion, Captain Cornwallis, who, having lost his main and mizen top-masts, with the rest of his rigging cut to pieces, drifted to leeward, and finding it impossible to rejoin the fleet, bore away to the westward without being pursued.

In the evening, the admiral directed the Monmouth, Captain Fanshawe, which ship was totally dismasted, and the transports, to make the best of their way to Antigua or St. Christopher's, keeping the squadron between them and the enemy, and trusting that he should have an opportunity to renew the battle the following morning, not thinking that the French admiral would suffer them to be carried off unmolested; but, contrary to this expectation, D'Estaing withdrew during the night into Granada, and from the circumstance of one of the transports having accidentally fallen into his possession, set up a claim to victory, though he constantly avoided every attempt at close action, and, under cover of darkness, retired from the scene of combat. Admiral Byron, finding in the present condition of his squadron he could make no farther attempt on the enemy, proceeded to St. Christopher's, where he arrived on the 15th.

Though the enemy in their accounts studiously endeavoured to conceal the total number of their killed and wounded, confining it to an enumeration of officers, amongst whom were three captains, still some idea may be formed on the subject, from the circumstance of one ship having had her captain and five lieutenants killed: indeed the most authentic information stated the whole loss at upwards of 1000 killed, and about 1500 wounded; and when it is considered, that a number of troops were on board during the action, in addition to the usual crowded state of their crews, such an estimate will not appear exaggerated; though, compared to the loss sustained on board the British squadron, being only 183 killed, and 346 wounded, it may appear excessive. The fire of the enemy was directed against the masts of their opponents, while that of the British was directed against the hulls, and being calm, their shot could not fail of taking effect, and causing great havoc between decks, where the men were chiefly stationed.

The greatest loss sustained by the British squadron on this occasion was in the masts and yards, several of which being obliged to be replaced, the enemy of course obtained a decided superiority during the operation; but the only use he made of that advantage was to parade with twenty-eight sail of the line off St. Christopher's on the 21st, when the French admiral formed his fleet into a line of battle ahead, and bore down, as if he intended to attack the rear of the British squadron: but this, as Mr. Beatson remarks, was the mere gasconade of a vapouring Frenchman, who, notwithstanding his immense superiority of force, took care to order his squadron to bear up, and stand off shore, before it came within random shot of the British fleet; after which, he shaped his course for St. Domingo. Shortly after this, he left the West Indies, and Admiral Byron returned to England.

On the 6th September, 1780*, he was promoted to be vice-admiral of the White. In 1783, he was offered the command in the East Indies, or any other station that he chose to accept; but as tropical climates did not agree with his constitution, he made choice of that of Newfoundland. He, however, did not live to fulfil the duties of this situation, dying April 10, 1786, universally acknowledged as a brave, zealous, but unfortunate officer.

* Mr. Charnock erroneously states it to have been on the 29th March, 1779.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF ADMIRAL EARL HOWE.

THE farther we proceed with this work, the greater do the merit and ability of those officers appear, whose services we have undertaken to record; at every step we advance, proof crowds so rapidly on proof, that we scarcely know where to bestow the chief palm, or where it is our duty most to praise.

The distinguished individual whose services we are now about to record, was the second* son of Emanuel Scrope, the second Viscount Howe of the kingdom of Ireland (who was governor of the Island of Barbadoes in 1732), and Maria Sophia Charlotte, eldest daughter of the Baron Kielmansegge. His lordship was born March 19, 1726, and received his education, first at Westminster, and afterwards at Eton. Being destined for the naval service, he left Eton when he was in his fourteenth year, and was placed on board the Severn of 50 guns, commanded by Captain the Hon. Edward Legge. This ship formed one of Commodore Anson's squadron, and sailed with him for the South Seas; but being driven by distress of weather into Rio Janeiro, Captain Legge, after refitting his vessel, returned to Europe. How long Mr. Howe continued on board the Severn we have not been able to ascertain, but the next ship he served on board was the Burford, Captain Lushington, attached to the fleet under the command of Sir Chaloner Ogle in the West Indies, and formed one of the squadron detached by that officer in February 1743, under the orders of Commodore Sir Charles Knowles, to make an attack on the town of La Guira, on the coast of Caraccas†. The attack was made on the 18th, but entirely failed; and the Burford suffered severely, having had her captain and twenty-four men killed, and fifty wounded. This attempt having proved unsuccessful, a court-martial was assembled, and the conduct of the Burford inquired into. Mr. Howe was called upon for his evidence: he gave it in a clear and collected manner, until he came to relate the melancholy death of the

* Mr. Charnock erroneously states him to have been the *third* son.

† Mr. Mason, in his "Life of Lord Howe," has made two mistakes in this part of his memoir: the first, by styling the commodore "Sir Francis;" and the second, by sending the expedition against the "town of La Guitta, on the coast of Curaçoa."

captain, for whom he entertained the greatest esteem, and though his subsequent conduct fully proved that he possessed nerves not to be affected by trifling occurrences, he could proceed no farther; he burst into tears, and was obliged to solicit the indulgence of the court, until he could sufficiently collect himself. We relate this anecdote with the greatest pleasure, not only because we consider it affords a convincing proof of the goodness of his disposition, but as it displays an irrefragable testimony, that tenderness and humanity are the natural attendants on true courage and greatness of mind.

Commodore Knowles being sensible of his merits, shortly afterwards appointed him acting-lieutenant, in which capacity he came to England; but being disappointed in having his commission confirmed by the Admiralty, he returned to his patron in the West Indies, where he was made lieutenant of a sloop of war; and shortly after an opportunity offered wherein he could display his active and resolute character. An English merchantman had been captured by a French privateer under the batteries of the Dutch settlement of Eustatia. Mr. Howe, at his own earnest request, was sent to claim her for the owners; but the governor having declined acceding to this request, contrary to what national faith and justice demanded, Mr. Howe desired leave to go with the boats and attempt cutting her out of the harbour. The captain represented to him the danger of so adventurous a step; and likewise added, that he had not sufficient interest to support him in England on a representation of the breach of neutrality. This, however, had very little effect on the gallant spirit of Mr. Howe: the English flag had been violated while under the protection of the Dutch governor, and he was determined to avenge it, if he could obtain permission; having failed in this, he requested the captain to quit the ship for a short time, and leave the command to him. This being complied with, he put his plan into execution; he went in with the boats, cut the vessel out, and restored her to the owners*.

In the autumn of 1745, Lieutenant Howe, having served previously with Admiral Vernon in the Downs, was raised to the rank of commander in the Baltimore sloop of war, which joined the squadron on the coast of Scotland, under Admiral Smith. During this cruise, the Baltimore and another armed vessel fell in with two French frigates of 30 guns each, full of troops and ammunition. Captain Howe immediately ran the Baltimore between them, and almost on board one of their ships. A de-

* Mason.

sperate action commenced, in which Captain Howe was severely wounded in the head by a musket-ball, and carried off the deck, to all appearance dead; but by medical assistance he soon discovered signs of life, and after the dressing of his wound, flew again to his post. His re-appearance gave fresh energy to the crew, and the action continued with redoubled fury, till the French ships sheered off, leaving the Baltimore in too shattered a condition to pursue them*.

This action stamped for ever the character of Captain Howe as a most able and intrepid officer: he was accordingly advanced to the rank of post-captain; and on April 10, 1746, appointed to the Triton frigate, being ordered to Lisbon. He there found the Rippon of 60 guns, commanded by Captain Holbourne, with whom he exchanged ships, and visited the coast of Guinea; from whence he proceeded to Jamaica, and joined the squadron under his old patron, Admiral Knowles, by whom he was appointed captain of the Cornwall of 80 guns, the admiral's flagship, in which he returned to England.

From this time he does not appear to have held any command till 1751, when he was appointed to La Gloire of 44 guns, which ship was immediately manned with volunteers, and he proceeded to the coast of Africa as commander-in-chief on that station. "On his arrival at Cape Coast, the governor and the council represented to him the series of ill treatment they had received from the Dutch governor-general at Elmina Castle, who had interrupted their inland trade, imprisoned their free negroes, and brought the credit of the African company so low, as to be held in contempt by the very natives themselves. Fired with indignation at these recitals, the commander of the squadron immediately prepared his own ship and the Swan sloop for action, and proceeded to Elmina, anchoring as near the Dutch castle as the depth of water would permit. He then sent Captain Digges on shore with a letter to the governor-general, demanding justice for the English merchants without delay, and an immediate release of all the free negroes. To the first demand the Dutchman sent an evasive answer; to the last, an absolute refusal†."

* We are indebted to Mr. Mason for the recital of this gallant affair, so honourable to Captain Howe and his brave associates; and regret exceedingly, that we have not been able to discover the name of the officer who commanded the ship in company with the Baltimore; Mr. Mason not having mentioned even the name of the ship, or the date on which it occurred, and the action is not mentioned in Campbell, Schomberg, Beatson, or Charnock.

† Mason.

But Captain Howe having informed him, that he was determined to retaliate on those who should interrupt the commerce of his countrymen, and instituted a vigorous blockade for a day or two, the governor changed his opinion; all the negroes were given up, and the other complaints satisfactorily adjusted. Having thus arranged this delicate affair, he proceeded to Barbadoes, where the principal merchants shewed him every attention in their power, being anxious to testify the high opinion they had for the memory of the late governor, his father. Captain Howe then sailed for Jamaica, where he received the merchants' remittances, and returned to England.

At the latter end of the year he was appointed to the Mary yacht; but this situation he resigned in June following, when he was commissioned to the Dolphin frigate, in which he proceeded to the Mediterranean, forming one of the squadron under Commodore Edgecombe, who, during his station there, dispatched Captain Howe to the coast of Barbary on a very critical service, and which he appears to have performed with his usual adroitness. "The inhabitants of Sallee were fitting out a cruiser of about 20 guns, avowedly to plunder vessels of all the Christian nations, and particularly of the English. On arriving in their road, the captain sent a letter on shore to the bashaw and alcaide, acquainting them with the notice of the service to which he was appointed, and requesting an explanation of their intentions. The Moors invited the captain on shore, to treat with them. He was strongly advised not to put himself in the power of such a faithless people; but, considering it a duty belonging to his employment, he went ashore next morning, accompanied by two or three friends only, leaving the ship to the care of the lieutenant, with orders how to proceed in case of any accident. On his approach near the beach, he perceived a concourse of people ready to receive him; and upon landing, was immediately conducted to the bashaw and alcaide, who had prepared a repast for his entertainment (a sheep roasted whole, &c.), and behaved with the greatest civility, and even politeness. They then proceeded to the business of the intended cruiser, and by their discourse appeared not quite free from hostile designs. When they were reminded of existing treaties, they replied, that the Emperor of Morocco's engagements were not binding on them. They, however, after much argument, consented to abandon their intentions of cruising against the English, if the captain would furnish them with a few materials for their ship. This he judiciously contrived to

evade, by observing, that the stores on board the Dolphin were not his to give away; but if the bashaw and alcaide would honour him with a visit, they should be welcome to any thing on board that was at his own disposal. This invitation was accepted; and they went on board next day with near two hundred of their followers, so that it was thought necessary to arm a number of seamen as sentinels in the gangways and other parts of the ship. The principal Moors were at first a little alarmed, and indeed affronted, at this circumstance; but on the captain informing them, that it was only a proper compliment to the dignity of his guests, they were perfectly satisfied, and cheerfully partook of the repast, not objecting to rum-punch, under the title of sherbet. They accepted of a pair of handsome pistols, and some other things; and by a promise to return with a more considerable present for the emperor (which he afterwards faithfully performed), the captain put them off with the gift of a hand-pump. On the Dolphin's departure, they sent a letter to the commodore, thanking him for appointing such an officer to negociate with them."

In 1754, he returned to England; and in consequence of the apprehended rupture with France, was, in March 1755, appointed to the Dunkirk of 60 guns, in which he proceeded with the fleet under Admiral Boscawen to America. On the 6th June, being off the banks of Newfoundland, four sail were discovered, and chase immediately ordered, but a thick fog coming on, they were obliged to desist. On the 8th they were again discovered, when the Dunkirk, by carrying a press of sail, came up with the sternmost about noon, and requested her commander to come under the admiral's stern; to which the French captain replied, "Is it peace or war?" Captain Howe answered, "he had nothing to do with that; his orders were to bring him under the admiral's stern;" and again requested his compliance: that being refused, Captain Howe observing a number of land officers and ladies upon the deck, requested them to go below and prepare for the worst, as he expected every moment the signal to commence action; which being shortly after thrown out, both ships began to engage nearly at the same time. After the first broadside, the most dreadful groans and screams were heard from the enemy's ship; every shot of the Dunkirk went through, being double shotted with round shot. In about half an hour the enemy struck, and proved to be the Alcide of 64 guns, having on board 900 men, mostly forces, the commandant of whom, a general officer, was killed in the

action. There were also on board the Alcide the governor of Louisbourg and 30,000*l.* in money. The Lys, also of 64 guns, but mounting only 22, was taken by some other ship of the squadron. Thus did Captain Howe fire the first shot in that glorious war, in which he afterwards acted so conspicuously, which terminated so honourably to the arms of England, and to the humiliation and discomfiture of her enemies.

Shortly after this, he returned with the admiral to England, and in the beginning of the following year, he accompanied Admiral Hawke to watch the enemy's movements in Brest harbour. Towards the latter end of the year, he was dispatched in the Dunkirk, with a 20-gun ship and two sloops, having on board 300 men from the garrisons of Guernsey and Jersey, to destroy the fortifications the enemy had erected on the Island of Chaucey, near St. Maloes, and which gave great alarm to persons trading to the former islands. Having come to an anchor before the place, he summoned the commander to surrender, which he at first refused; but observing the Dunkirk and the other ships preparing to engage, he hauled down the colours; when the fortifications were immediately destroyed.

In the beginning of 1757, he was employed to cruise in the English and Irish Channels, in company with the Lancaster, Captain Edgecombe, in which he was uncommonly successful, having captured the Duke de Grammont, private ship, of 36 guns, Le Nouveau Saxon of 16 guns, a schooner with wine and brandy for Quebec, and retook his Majesty's sloop Merlin. Subsequently, Captain Howe, when alone, captured the Prince de Saubise, a privateer of 14 guns. When the Dunkirk came up with her, the captain had the temerity to fire a broadside into the Dunkirk, and then struck his colours. Captain Howe caused strict inquiry to be made if any body was hurt. It was fortunate for the enemy there was not; for if a single person had received the least injury, he was resolved to have poured a broadside into her*.

During the period he was thus employed in protecting the commerce of the country, he was chosen M. P. for the borough of Dartmouth, which he continued to represent till he was raised to a peerage, a period of twenty-five years.

On his returning from this cruise, he was appointed to the Magnanime of 74 guns, and sent out with Sir Edward Hawke in the expedition against Rochefort. The Magnanime was one of the ships detached

* Beatson.

by Sir Edward under Admiral Knowles, to attack the Isle of Aix, in which Captain Howe took the lead. At twelve o'clock, the batteries began to throw shells and fire shot, notwithstanding which, Captain Howe stood in with a cool steady bravery, ordering all his men to lie down upon the decks, himself only, with his speaking-trumpet in his hand, the pilot, and the man at the helm, appearing upon deck, reserving his fire till he came within forty yards of the fort, when he brought up with a spring on his cable, and began so furious and well-directed a fire, that in half an hour the enemy were driven from their guns, and the place surrendered. In the fort were found 8 mortars and 32 pieces of cannon, two of which were brass 12-pounders, of exquisite workmanship, which Sir John Mordaunt presented to Captain Howe, to adorn the quarter-deck of the Magnanime, as a token of the high opinion he entertained of his personal bravery, and the great degree of professional skill he had evinced during the attack.

In the month of October, he accompanied Admirals Hawke and Boscawen off the coast of France, in hopes of intercepting a French squadron expected from Louisbourg, under M. Bois de la Motte; but the wind having entirely dispersed the British fleet, the French admiral effected his escape.

Hitherto the services of Captain Howe had been of a subordinate description; he had acted under the orders of others; but in the performance of these orders, he had evinced such a degree of zeal and ability, as not only to call forth the applause and approbation of his commanding officers, but to attract the notice of the great Mr. Pitt, who being thoroughly sensible of the skill and activity of Captain Howe (the only officer of the great armament of 1757 who had performed any service), requested an interview with him, for the purpose of discoursing on the practicability of other attacks on the French coast. At the close of the conversation, Captain Howe expressed his desire to be one of the officers employed on such service. The minister replied, " he could not interfere in recommending captains to the commander-in-chief." Thus the matter seemingly ended; but Mr. Pitt had in reality determined, that the supreme naval command should be intrusted to Captain Howe himself*. He was accordingly appointed to the Essex of 64 guns, having under his orders three 50-gun ships, ten frigates, nine sloops, and smaller vessels, with one hundred sail of transports, having on board sixteen

* Mason.

battalions of infantry and nine troops of cavalry, under the command of the Duke of Marlborough; the whole of which sailed on the 1st June, 1758, and passed through the Race of Alderney, the commander being the first Englishman who was bold enough to conduct a fleet of ships through that dangerous pass. Having arrived in the Bay of Concalle, and a convenient place determined on for landing the troops, they were disembarked on the 6th; and as the enemy manifested an intention of opposing the attempt, the commodore shifted his flag to the Success frigate, and with the Rose, Flamborough, and Diligent sloops, stood in to cover the landing, clear the beach, and silence the batteries, which, by the celerity of his fire, he effectually performed, and the troops drew up on the enemy's shore without loss. On the following day, they marched against St. Maloes; and at midnight the whole of the magazines, with the ships in the harbour, were in one general conflagration. On this occasion there were destroyed above one hundred sail of shipping, and the whole of the damage sustained by the enemy was estimated at 800,000*l.*

This service having been effected, with the loss of about 30 men, the army was embarked on the 11th, and the commodore continued hovering on the enemy's coast for several days, intending to land again at some convenient place; but the weather proving unfavourable, he bore away for St. Helens, where the troops were disembarked for refreshment. The success which had attended this expedition induced the government to persevere in their exertions: accordingly, a second expedition was determined upon; but as the Duke of Marlborough was dispatched to Germany, the command of the troops was conferred on General Bligh. Every thing being prepared, Prince Edward (afterwards Duke of York) went on board the Essex; the fleet set sail on the 1st of August, and after being buffeted about for some time, anchored off Cherbourg on the 6th. The enemy were, however, here more prepared; they had thrown up considerable works, and appeared determined to defend the place to the utmost extremity. The following day, however, the troops were landed under the fire of the frigates and sloops, without much opposition, the town taken, the celebrated basin destroyed, together with twenty-seven vessels in the harbour, and about 200 pieces of cannon rendered unserviceable. This being accomplished, 20 pieces of brass cannon and two large mortars were carried on board the ships, and the troops re-embarked without molestation on the 16th, and on the 19th anchored

in Portland roads; shortly after which, the cannon, colours, and other trophies, taken in this expedition, were exposed to public view in Hyde Park, from whence they were drawn to the Tower with every circumstance of parade.

The successful termination of these attempts fully proved the decided superiority of the maritime force of Britain; and in proportion to the ease and facility with which the enemy's towns were attacked, did the government of France sink in the estimation of the other powers of Europe; and "happy had it been, if the British government, unintoxicated with these unalloyed successes, had been content with what had been already achieved;" but they were resolved that the enemy should have no interval of repose. The squadron accordingly again sailed on the 31st, and on the 3d September came to an anchor in the Bay of St. Lunaire, where the troops were landed without opposition. The destruction of the enemy's shipping in the harbour of St. Briac was the first object of the assailants: accordingly a force was marched against that place, where about twenty sail were destroyed. But upon examining the state of St. Maloes, it was found too strongly guarded to yield to the force under their command, and as success appeared hopeless, it was finally determined to abandon the attempt and re-embark the troops; but in order to accomplish this last object, it was found necessary to move to the Bay of St. Cas. The shipping accordingly proceeded thither, and the army commenced their march for the same place; but having hitherto received little or no opposition, they seemed now to set it at defiance. Having arrived within three miles of the place of embarkation, they encamped for the night, notwithstanding they had received information of a superior force being at a short distance in their rear: nay, so dilatory were they in their proceedings, in such contempt did they hold the enemy, that though they were in motion by four o'clock, they did not reach the beach till nine; and when they began their march it was with the beat of drum, lest a silent departure might be considered derogatory to the reputation they had acquired. On arriving at the place of embarkation, the enemy shewed themselves in full force; but the commodore having taken every precaution in his power by a due distribution of the force under his command, they were prevented from making any very serious attack, till an error was unfortunately committed by General Drury, who commanded the rear guard of about 1400 men, which obliged the frigates and other vessels, that had hitherto kept the

enemy in check, to discontinue the fire, lest they should do more injury to the British troops, than to their powerful opponents. The enemy availed themselves of this circumstance, and poured down in great numbers on the beach. The troops, however, defended themselves with great bravery, till all their ammunition was expended, when they dispersed and fled, many of them making for the water, in hopes of being taken up by the boats; but as the enemy's fire now completely commanded the beach, the sailors, contrary to their usual intrepidity on such occasions, displayed an evident reluctance to pull in shore. In this extremity, the commodore, with a magnanimity that ever distinguished him, went into his own barge, which he ordered into the thickest of the enemy's fire, and exhibited a noble example of intrepidity and fortitude: by standing upright and making himself conspicuous to the whole fleet, he excited a universal spirit of emulation among officers and men, who should exert themselves most in their endeavours to save their unfortunate fellow-countrymen. By this heroic example, each man seemed animated beyond all precedent; every body was alert and active; and by this brave and intrepid action, above 700 gallant soldiers were brought off, who must otherwise have perished. After this check the fleet returned to Spithead*.

During the absence of the commodore on this last expedition, he succeeded to the title of Viscount Howe, his brother having been killed at the siege of Ticonderago in America.

Immediately after his return, he again went on board the Magnanime, and sailed with Sir Edward Hawke to watch the enemy's motions in Brest harbour; and in the memorable defeat of the Marquis de Conflans, he bore a conspicuous and decided part: having attacked the Thesée, he was run foul of by the Montagu, by which means he lost his fore-yard, and his opponent made off; when his lordship exclaimed,

*. "Previously to the commodore's setting out on one of these expeditions, being always attentive to verbal exactness, he found himself unable to comprehend one particular passage in his written instructions, which he had received from the great Mr. Pitt. To him, therefore, he repaired, and mentioned that he did not perfectly understand his orders. 'Not understand your orders!' exclaimed the secretary, in his haughty tone, 'that's very strange indeed.' The commodore, perfectly understanding the real purport of this exclamation, instantly replied, 'Sir, do not mistake me: when I shall be thoroughly acquainted with my errand, you may depend upon my executing it to the utmost of my power.' This softened at once the minister's features; and with the readiest complacency he condescended to be the expositor of his own instructions."—Mason.

"By this unlucky accident we shall lose our share of the glory of the day." In this, however, he was mistaken; for observing a French ship to leeward, he bore down so close upon her, that in ranging along side, he carried away the fluke of one of his anchors. He attacked her with the greatest bravery, and soon compelled her to strike: she came to an anchor, but it blew so hard, that no boat could be sent on board; and during the night her commander ran her on shore, and landed his men.

After the action, his lordship was sent on shore to settle an exchange of prisoners, and to demand the crew of the Hero, whose captain had struck to him; but though he succeeded in the former, he was unable to attain the latter. It is farther worthy of remark, that the only officer killed in this important victory was Lieutenant Price of the Magnanime. For his behaviour on this occasion, in addition to the thanks of Parliament, his lordship, when presented at court by Sir Edward Hawke, was honoured with the particular thanks of his Majesty, *for so many repetitions of signal service to his country.* Nor did his royal master compliment by words alone, having appointed him to a lucrative post (colonel of the Chatham division of marines), created on purpose, March 22, 1760*.

Captain Howe having rejoined the fleet, was detached by Sir Edward Hawke, on the 4th September, with the Magnanime, Bedford, and Prince Frederick, to dispossess the French of the Island of Dumet; which he accomplished without sustaining any loss. The capture of this island was rendered of great importance, in consequence of its supplying the fleet with fresh water, which had hitherto been sent out in transports.

Towards the conclusion of the year, he succeeded Sir Thomas Stanhope as commander-in-chief in Basque roads; and about the middle of the ensuing summer, he removed into the Amelia of 80 guns, having been appointed captain under his Royal Highness the Duke of York. An anecdote is related of him during the time he held this command, highly characteristic of the coolness which ever marked his conduct. The lieutenant of the watch went down to him at midnight and awaked him, saying, "My lord, don't be frightened; the ship's on fire close to the magazine."—He sprung up, and replied in an angry tone, "What do you mean by that, sir? I never was frightened in my life. I will be with you in a moment: but in the mean time give directions that nobody attempts to disturb his royal highness." He went down instantly, and

* Mason.

ordered wet swabs and other proper remedies to quench the fire: he then went again upon deck, and seeing all quiet, retired to sleep with his usual composure*.

On the termination of hostilities, his lordship, who, by his personal exertions during the war, had greatly contributed to the accomplishment of an honourable peace, was chosen to direct in part its operations during tranquillity, having been appointed one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, April 1763, which office he held till August 1765, when he exchanged it for that of Treasurer of the Navy. "To the duties of this latter employment he paid that diligent attention which he deemed indispensable in every species of trust, public or private. But at the beginning of 1770, on the Duke of Grafton's retiring from the Treasury, he thought himself bound in honour to resign his own treasurership, and his appointment of colonel of marines into the bargain. In these, as well as every other transaction of his life, he suffered not any consideration of emolument to weigh one single atom against his faintest notion of honour. When he became thus released from any particular occupation in the civil line of government, Sir Edward Hawke (First Lord of the Admiralty) cast his eye upon him as on one by whose naval talents the public might reap again some considerable advantage: he was consequently promoted to be rear-admiral of the Blue, October 1770; soon after which, he was appointed commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, on the probability of a rupture with Spain. This appointment of the junior admiral did not please some members of the House of Commons, who proposed addressing his Majesty to inform them who advised appointing Lord Howe to this command. Sir Edward Hawke then rose up and said, 'I advised his Majesty to make the appointment. I have tried Lord Howe on important occasions: he never asked me how he was to execute any service, but always went and performed it.†'" Here the matter ended; and as there was no fleet sent out, his lordship did not hoist his flag on this occasion. In 1773, he rendered himself particularly popular in the navy, in consequence of his having brought in a bill to the House of Commons, to grant an increase of pay, which, though it experienced a great deal of opposition, was finally agreed to.

In February 1776, he was advanced to be vice-admiral of the Blue; and on the 5th March, kissed his Majesty's hand, on being appointed

* Mason. † Ibid.

commander-in-chief in North America. At the same time, a commission was issued, empowering him and his brother, Sir William Howe, at that time commander-in-chief of the army in America, to treat with the Americans for a general pacification. Having hoisted his flag on board the Eagle of 64 guns, he sailed on the 12th May. On his arrival, he sent a circular letter to those governors who had been dispossessed by the Americans of their respective provinces, informing them of the commission he had received, and requesting them to make as public as possible a declaration accompanying the letter. He also wrote to General Washington, to inform him of the powers with which he was invested; but the general having refused to receive it, preparations were made for an attack on Long Island; and by the 30th the whole island was in their possession. This success being considered as affording a more favourable opportunity for offering terms of peace, the admiral and general wrote letters to several members of Congress, in their private capacities, requesting a conference, in hopes of accomplishing that desirable object. But though a deputation was named by that body, they were unable to agree to the preliminary stipulations which the Congress thought necessary to their acting with security and decision.

This negociation having failed, Lord and General Howe concerted measures for forcing the enemy's army at New-York, which fell by their united exertions. In the following spring, they prepared to attack the city of Philadelphia; but so many and so various were the preparations for an expedition of such a magnitude, that it was the 23d July before they could sail for Sandy-Hook, and then they were unfortunately so much impeded by calms and contrary winds, that they did not reach the Chesapeake before the 14th August. The wind fortunately proved fair in the bay, so that the fleet gained the mouth of the Elk, near its extremity, in safety, through a most intricate and dangerous navigation for such a multitude of vessels, in which the admiral performed the different parts of a commander, inferior officer, and pilot, with his usual ability. Having proceeded up the Elk as far as it was capable of admitting their passage, the army was landed on the north shore on the 25th*; and General Howe, by a series of skilful manœuvres, which reflected the highest honour on his professional abilities, obtained possession of the city, September 27th. During the winter months, his lordship so disposed his

* *Annual Register.*

squadron, as to afford the most effectual support to the army, and to render the utmost protection to the commerce of the country.

Though the most decided success had attended the operations of the army under General Howe, their influence extended no farther than the distance they commanded; and in the spring, Sir William Howe having resigned the command to Sir H. Clinton, orders were given for the army to evacuate Philadelphia and march to New-York. Every preparation having been made, the evacuation took place on the 18th June, and the whole British army passed over the Delaware on the same day, without interruption, under the excellent dispositions made by Lord Howe for the purpose.

Immediately on the evacuation of Philadelphia, his lordship collected the different ships of his squadron, intending to leave the Delaware, but the adverse state of the winds prevented his quitting that river till the 28th June; when, having left Captain Hamond of the Roebuck to cruise about the capes, with some light cruisers, he proceeded to Sandy-Hook, which he reached on the 30th; and on the succeeding day, the army, under Sir H. Clinton, arrived on the heights of Navisink; when, by the ability of the noble commander, and the extraordinary efforts of the men, a bridge of boats was constructed, and the army marched over it to Sandy-Hook Island. Scarcely had this been effected, when, on the 5th July, intelligence was received that a French squadron of twelve sail of the line had arrived on the coast. About noon on the 11th, a signal was made without the bar, that the enemy's fleet were in sight, which, in the course of the afternoon, came to an anchor about four miles from Sandy-Hook.

Never did the spirit and intrepidity of British seamen display itself more conspicuously than on this occasion. Six ships of 64 guns, three of 50, two of 40, with some frigates and sloops, and those for the most part wretchedly manned, constituted the whole force which Lord Howe had to oppose to one ship of 90 guns, one of 80, six of 74, four of 64, besides several large frigates, and which, in addition to their complement of seamen, had 6000 troops on board. "Yet such was the noble spirit of the British sailors, such their glorious love for the honour of their country, and such their confidence in their leader, whose example gave life to their valour, that their emulation to second his exertions rose to a height to which history can find no parallel, inducing them to set the evident superiority of the enemy at defiance. Nor was this national

spirit confined to the royal navy alone; the patriotic flame spread through the whole fleet; and 1000 volunteers from the transports and victuallers presented themselves to man his Majesty's ships. Scarcely could the agents detain a sufficient number of hands for the watch of their respective ships. Many, whose names were omitted in the list given in to the captain appointed by Lord Howe to receive them, were found concealed in the boats which carried their more fortunate companions on board the several ships of war. This important emergency seemed, indeed, to infuse a peculiar spirit into both services, proportioned to every danger which threatened them. The soldiers became immediately as impatient to have an opportunity of signalizing themselves, on so critical an occasion, as the sailors, and though unaccustomed to a sea life, expressed their eager desire to be employed under Lord Howe, whose character they held in the highest esteem. The grenadiers and light infantry, not yet recruited from the fatigues of a toilsome and laborious march, and many of the officers and men with their wounds yet scarcely healed, were obliged to cast lots, to determine who should obtain the envied situation of serving on board the squadron as marines. The masters and mates of the merchantmen and traders in the harbour, also solicited employment with equal ardour. Several of them took their stations at the guns with the common sailors, and others obtained permission to put to sea in small swift-sailing shallops, to alarm such ships as might be bound for the port. One in particular, with a spirit of distinguished bravery, and in language worthy of an old Roman, wrote to Lord Howe, for leave to convert his vessel, the whole hopes of his fortune, into a fire-ship, to be conducted by himself, rejecting every mention of reward*.

"In this struggle of magnanimity, it was observed with rapture, that the spirit which had raised Britain above the rest of Europe was not yet extinct; and that it wanted only to be awakened, and properly directed, to shine in her modern sons with as bright a lustre as in any of her ancient heroes. From the commanders and officers such sallies of patriotic ardour were naturally to be expected; but when the same ardour extended, not only to every rank and station in the service, but to every individual connected with, or dependent upon, the navy and army, it appeared to proceed from the spirit of the people, and greatly exalted

* The name of this worthy man was Gideon Duncan, a native of Scotland: he commanded a vessel in the employment of the government, and not only proffered to convert her into a fire-ship, but declared, that if he were allowed to conduct her, he would attempt to lay the French admiral's ship on board as she lay at anchor off the Hook.

the character of the nation*." Such manifestations of public spirit, zeal, bravery, and magnanimity, displayed on an occasion so critical, so urgent, so important, and so dangerous, as is here described, would have stamped a high character for heroism on any nation which before had none; and however prolific this country may have been in the production of men of talent, and whose actions have shed a blaze of lustre on themselves and their country, the burst of feeling evinced on this occasion, from the highest to the lowest, was such as is scarcely to be paralleled in any other instance.

Lord Howe could not be insensible to the high esteem for him which all connected with both services had so strongly expressed, and his feelings corresponded with the emulation which glowed around him. Encouraged by the determined bravery of the men, and assured of the merit and skill of his officers, he lost not a moment in forming his dispositions. But M. d'Estaing, instead of crossing the bar immediately, in hopes of surprising the British fleet, which it was natural to suppose he came prepared to have attempted, anchored off Shrewsbury Inlet, where he remained for several days, employed at times in sounding the bar, with every appearance of a determination to enter and attack the port. In the mean time, Lord Howe improved this unlooked-for interval, by stationing his ships and vessels in the strongest position of which the channel within the Hook would admit. He sounded the depths of the channel in person, ascertained the different settings of the currents, and from the observations thus made, formed plans of defence, suited to any direction of the wind with which D'Estaing might resolve to cross the bar. These plans, with the grounds on which they rested, he daily communicated to the commanders and captains, soliciting their opinion on them, being desirous of profiting by their remarks.

On the 22d, the French fleet got under weigh, with the wind favourable for an attack on the British fleet; the spring tide was also at the highest, and rose that afternoon 30 feet on the bar: so that every circumstance conspired to forward the expected attack, and no doubt existed as to the attempt being made. On the side of the British, every thing was at stake: if their squadron had been defeated, the transports and victuallers must have been destroyed; and the army would most probably have shared in the destiny of the fleet. Their spirit, however, did not forsake them, but rose in proportion to the danger that called

* Beatson.

for its exertion. Every preparation being made to receive the enemy, the commander, officers, and men waited with the utmost anxiety for the event, which was to decide the fate of the navy, the army, and the war. But notwithstanding the expectations naturally entertained on this occasion, notwithstanding the great and manifest superiority in number of ships which the enemy possessed, and notwithstanding the evident intention he had of making the attack, after hovering about for some time, and keeping the British fleet in suspense, he changed his course, and stood to the southward. His lordship immediately ordered some fast-sailing vessels to watch the enemy's movements. The next day he was joined by the Renown of 50 guns, from the West Indies, an accession of force, under existing circumstances, which was considered of great importance: on the 28th, he received a farther accession by the arrival of the Raisonable of 64 guns, and the Centurion of 50 guns, from Halifax; and was still farther augmented on the 30th, by the arrival of the Cornwall of 74 guns, being one of Admiral Byron's squadron, all of which would inevitably have fallen into the possession of the enemy had he remained on this station. This seasonable addition to his lordship's force induced him to sail in quest of the enemy, who, it was ascertained, had directed his course to Rhode Island, and, in conjunction with the Americans, meditated an attack on that place. The appearance of the British fleet excited the highest surprise in the French commander, who, though his lordship had set him at defiance while at anchor, did not imagine he would run the risk of an action in the open sea. On the morning of the 10th Aug. the enemy stood out of port, for the purpose of attacking the British squadron; but as their force was so superior to that under his lordship's command, and had moreover the advantage of the wind, thus joining accidental advantages to superior strength, his lordship, though determined to undertake any thing which reason and judgment should dictate, deemed it imprudent to risk an action under such circumstances: he therefore stood to the southward in order of battle, in hopes that the wind would come from the sea, which would give him that advantage; at the same time, every manœuvre that consummate seamanship could suggest, was put in practice to gain that desired object, and was persevered in till four o'clock on the following day, when his lordship, finding all attempts useless, threw out the signal for the ships to close to the centre; and having formed his squadron with the utmost professional skill and judgment, "the fleet beheld him take a step, of

which they could not but approve, and which was highly necessary in his present situation. It has been acknowledged by the best naval officers, that a station in the line is the most improper that a commander-in-chief can occupy in the time of action; because, in this situation, it is impossible for him to see the operations of the fleets, and of course he cannot be qualified for issuing the orders necessary either to the preservation of his own ships, or to the discomfiture of those of the enemy. Although many allow the propriety of this conduct, few would have the magnanimity, so far to contemn the censure which might arise from a misconstruction of the motive, as to put it in practice. Doubtless the personal courage of no officer could be better established than that of his lordship already was; and on the present occasion, when he was to engage a fleet so much superior to that which he commanded, he could look for success only from a prompt and critical exertion of his professional skill and abilities. He, therefore, shifted his flag from the Eagle to the Apollo frigate, moving to a convenient distance, to see the whole line*." But while he was thus bravely preparing to engage, while the battle was thus put in array, the wind, which already blew with considerable force, increased to a hurricane, dispersed the ships of both squadrons, entirely changed the nature of the conflict, and obliged them to take shelter in port. The squadron having been refitted, his lordship sailed again in quest of the enemy; but being informed that they had left Rhode Island for Boston Bay, he proceeded through the south channel within St. George's bank, in hopes of intercepting them in their approach to the bay. In this, however, he was disappointed, as, on his arrival, the French fleet was discovered at anchor. Having reconnoitred their position, and finding there was no possibility of making an attack upon them with any probability of success, his lordship returned to Rhode Island, to co-operate with General Pigot in its defence; but on his arrival there, he found the enemy had raised the siege, and retired to the continent.

Having now done every thing in his power for the benefit of that cause for which his country had declared war, he resolved to avail himself of his Majesty's permission to return to England for the benefit of his health; and having resigned the command of the fleet to Admiral Byron, sailed for England on the 25th September, most justly admired and regretted by his companions in arms, both in the naval and military service. Of his services in America it has been said, that, " by a happy

* Beatson.

mixture of prudent and bold measures; by a series of manœuvres which naval tactics were scarcely thought capable of exhibiting; by an indefatigable zeal, and an ardent attention to take advantage of every occurrence; by an unconquerable and persevering spirit, with which his example inspired every officer and seaman under his command, he saved his country from ruin. While the annals of Britain are read, they will recal to memory his important services; and his fame must appear with uncommon lustre, while it is recollected, that, with forces far inferior in strength to those of his opponents, he defeated all the great designs of an active and enterprizing enemy; protected the army and fleet of transports at New-York; raised the siege of Rhode Island, and compelled the French squadron to seek an asylum in the harbour of Boston." But this was not enough to satisfy some people, and because he had not engaged D'Estaing, because he had not brought half his fleet triumphantly into port, an attack was made on his professional character, and supported by *counting the number of guns in each squadron**. The truth is, that whenever a fleet sails from England, the nation unremittingly contemplates the progress of its operations; it confidently anticipates success, and disappointment follows when every thing does not terminate as it wishes.

* Commodore George Johnstone stood foremost on this occasion. According to his new system of naval tactics, the force of the adverse fleets is not to be estimated by the rate of the several ships as opposed to each other in the line, or the comparative weight of metal, but from the total number of guns in the respective squadrons, from whatever part directed; and he accordingly made the following estimate:

The Cornwall of 74, a match for the Cesar of 74.
The Eagle of 64 and Experiment of 50, for the Languedoc of 90.
The Trident of 64 and Roebuck of 44, for the Tonnant of 80.
The Raisonable of 64 and Phœnix of 44, for the Guerrier of 74.
The Somerset of 70, for the Hector of 74.
The Nonsuch of 64 and Richmond of 32, for the Protecteur of 74.
The St. Albans of 64 and Venus of 36, for the Zelée of 74.
The Ardent of 64 and Pearl of 32, for the Marcellois of 74.
The Preston of 50 and Apollo of 32, for the Valliant of 64.
The Centurion of 50 and Sphinx of 20, for the Fantasque of 64.
The Isis of 50 and Vigilant of 20, for the Provence of 64.
The Renown of 50, for the Sagittaire of 50.

And even the guns of the sloops, brigs, and tenders were counted. This, however, was generally derided as a pound shilling and pence account; and Lord Howe used to say, one might as well reckon two boys of ten years old a match for a man of twenty, because the sum total of their ages was the same. Commodore Johnstone lived to see the erroneousness of the doctrine he had broached, being himself attacked in Porto Praya road, where he declined acting on his own principles.

On this occasion, the high character of his lordship for courage and seamanship had inspired such an idea of his capacity, that all obstacles were expected to vanish before him; the people grew impatient at delay, and fell into the views of those who attributed to him a want of energy and zeal.

On his lordship's arrival in the chops of the Channel, he fell in with three French ships of the line; and though the enemy exerted their utmost endeavours to come up with him, they gained but little upon him during the day, and having changed his course in the night, he eluded their pursuit, and arrived safe at St. Helens. He immediately struck his flag, and for a space of three years remained totally unemployed. During that period, the Empress Catherine of Russia made him the most liberal offers, to induce him to accept a commission in her service; but however flattering and advantageous this might have been to his lordship, he declined accepting it*.

A change of ministers having taken place in 1782, brought his lordship again into active service; and on the 8th April, he was advanced to be admiral of the Blue. On the 20th of the same month, he received a farther proof of royal approbation, by being created a viscount of Great Britain; and immediately afterwards was appointed to command the Channel fleet. Having received information that the fleet of Holland had left the Texel, he immediately went in pursuit; but as the enemy received timely notice of his approach, they quickly returned to port, and did not again attempt to leave their anchorage. Having thus frustrated the enemy's design, he left a small squadron of observation on the Dutch coast, and returned to Portsmouth to refit, in order to protect a valuable fleet of merchantmen from the West Indies, in danger from the combined fleets of France and Spain, of nearly double his force, then cruising in the chops of the Channel. On his arrival off the Scilly Islands, on the evening of the 7th July, he fell in with the enemy's fleet, who no doubt entertained the most sanguine hopes of a complete and decisive victory. Indeed, it required the utmost dexterity and professional skill in the British admiral to attain the object of his pursuit, and at the same time avoid being forced into an action with such a disparity of force; but having a thorough knowledge of the coast, and possessing a mind capable of undertaking whatever reason should dictate, he determined to conduct the fleet under his command, consisting of

* Mason.

thirty-four sail, through the intricate and dangerous passage between the Scilly Islands and the Land's End, and by break of day he was entirely out of sight. This bold and well-conducted manœuvre, which none but the most expert would have dared to attempt, completely deceived the enemy, who did not conceive such a measure practicable even in the daytime: they, however, continued to cruise in the mouth of the Channel for some time longer; but being blown from the station by a gale of wind, Lord Howe and the Jamaica fleet arrived at Spithead without molestation. The squadron under his lordship's command was now revictualled for the relief of Gibraltar, to effect which every effort was used to collect sufficient force for the purpose. As the garrison had, by the most heroic bravery, defeated every attempt to carry it by assault, the only fear entertained for its safety was, through the failure of ammunition and provisions. The arrival of Lord Howe's fleet was therefore looked for with the utmost anxiety both by the besieged and besiegers; the latter not being without hopes, from the great superiority of naval force which they still possessed, that they should be able, if not to defeat his lordship in naval combat, at least to prevent his throwing any supplies into the garrison; an event which, it was held out, would prove a happy opportunity for converting all past disgrace into an augmentation of future glory. Undismayed, however, by the formidable preparations of the enemy, the British admiral pushed forward to the place of his destination, and on the 11th October entered the Straits of Gibraltar. In the afternoon they arrived off the bay, when a most favourable opportunity presented itself for the transports to pass to their anchorage without molestation from the enemy; but owing to some inattention on the part of the masters to the circumstance of navigation, only four of them were able to effect it*; the remainder were carried through the gut with the ships of war, and greatly inconvenienced their subsequent operations. On the 13th, another attempt was made, when the combined fleet, consisting of forty-four sail of the line, weighed anchor, and having the wind full in their favour, stood out, with the evident intention of preventing the transports from reaching the bay: in this, however, they were foiled by the superior abilities of the British admiral, who threw all the supplies into the garrison, and manœuvred his fleet so as not to shun an engagement, even with so marked a superiority of force as the enemy opposed to him. The object of the expedition being achieved,

* *London Gazette.*

his lordship stood under an easy sail and in close order towards the Straits, the enemy following at a short distance to windward. Having cleared the Straits, his lordship formed his fleet in a line of battle, to receive the enemy in case they should feel disposed to try their strength. About sunset on the 20th, they began to fire on the rear of the British fleet, which continued till ten p. m. when they stood off, and in the morning were observed at a great distance, steering for Cadiz: his lordship considering it impolitic, under existing circumstances, to seek a renewal of the contest, and therefore having, agreeably to his instructions, dispatched part of the force to the West Indies, continued his course for England. Thus was the great and important service of relieving Gibraltar most happily and gloriously performed, under such circumstances of inferiority, as not only fully to support, but highly to exalt the honour and renown of the British flag. So convinced was the Parliament of the great consequence to the nation of the service performed, and the skill and judgment displayed in the execution of it, that they bestowed upon the noble commander the highest honour they could confer—their unanimous thanks.

On the 28th January, 1783, he was appointed to the important situation of First Lord of the Admiralty; and when it is considered with what abilities he had conducted the operations intrusted to his care, the study and attention that he had ever given to maritime affairs in general, no one could have been chosen with higher qualifications to fulfil the important duties of the office. Shortly after his appointment, he " began those reforms which his long service had convinced him were necessary to be made in every department of the navy, civil as well as military. However, through a contention of parties, he was obliged to quit his post in April following; but in little more than eight months (December 30th), was reinstated in it. The business of this high office he transacted with the general approbation of the kingdom for about four years: I only say *general;* it is not in the nature of things for a rectifier of abuses to give *universal* satisfaction. He was promoted to be admiral of the White, September 24, 1787. At the same time, many captains were made admirals, and an unusual number put upon the superannuated list. This last measure occasioned much ferment in the spring of 1788, and brought on some motions hostile to the Board of Admiralty, in both Houses of Parliament. One of the questions agitated in the House of Commons upon the subject was carried for the Admiralty by a very

small majority. Whether such a promotion was really objectionable or not, the writer of this life owns himself to be totally unqualified for even forming an opinion. Lord Howe's judgment (certainly one of the best) is not set up for infallible; but that he ever intentionally committed an act of injustice, the uniform tenour of his proceedings forbids one to believe. It should also farther be told, that this measure was strongly recommended to the head of the Admiralty Board, as a piece of public economy, by the minister of finance and his colleagues in office; and that these, when they found the thing unpopular, never publicly avowed their advice, but let all the odium rest upon Lord Howe. On this *their* behaviour, the truly right honourable peer determined to coalesce no longer with such a dissimilarity of principles from his own; and on July 16th, he actually resigned his post*."

Shortly after his resignation, his Majesty, being thoroughly sensible of his lordship's transcendent merit, advanced him to the dignity of an earl, and by letters patent, Baron Howe of Langar, with remainder to his eldest daughter, and every other daughter, and their issue male.

On the death of Lord Rodney in 1792, Lord Howe was appointed to succeed him as vice-admiral of England.

We now approach the most important period of his lordship's history; and however patriotic or important the services he had already performed may appear, they shrink into nothing compared with this his last grand effort, which not only forms an epoch in his glorious career, but his action of the 1st of June will ever remain as one of the most brilliant recorded in the naval history of his country.

The internal dissensions which had existed for several years in France having at length assumed a most formidable appearance; the king having been beheaded, and the allies of England attacked, the British government began to put the country in a state of defence; squadrons were fitted out, and every preparation made for the commencement of hostilities. The command of the main or Channel fleet being intrusted to Lord Howe, he sailed on a cruise off Brest; but though, during the year 1793, he achieved nothing worthy of his reputation, ample amends were made in the following year. In the beginning of May, his lordship sailed from St. Helens with thirty-two sail of the line, having under his convoy four hundred sail of vessels for the East and West Indies, and other parts of the world. Having conducted the convoy to the latitude

* Mason.

directed in his instructions, his lordship made the signal for them to proceed on their voyage, under the protection of six sail of the line, who were ordered to see them still farther on their passage. His lordship then proceeded towards Ushant, and having received information that the enemy's fleet was at sea, sailed directly in quest of them, with the most anxious hopes that he should have an opportunity to vindicate the honour of his country, and rescue his own character from the unmerited reproach which had been cast upon it.

At this time France was labouring under the greatest distress for want of provisions, and a large fleet laden with corn was daily expected from America. It was for the protection of this convoy that the fleet sailed from Brest, and so urgent was the occasion, that the commander, Villeret Joyeuse, an officer of great merit, had orders to defend it at all hazards. To stimulate the men to do their duty, and to act as a spy upon the admiral and other officers, Jean Bon St. André was placed by the Convention on board the Montagne: so that the government took every means in their power to work on the feelings of the men, and to ensure their utmost exertions in the expected conflict.

At length the scene of action drew near, and on the 28th May, the enemy's fleet, consisting of twenty-six sail of the line, was perceived to windward, about 140 leagues west of Ushant. On discovering the British fleet, the enemy bore down in a loose manner, but soon after hauled their wind, and began to form in order of battle; but as they kept standing away, Lord Howe made the signal for the whole fleet to chase, and to engage the enemy as each ship could come up. Towards evening, several ships came within long gun-shot of them, and Captain Parker of the Audacious, pressing all the canvas the ship would bear, was enabled to grapple with the enemy. On arriving close up, he observed that the rear-ship, the Revolutionaire, was a three-decker of 120 guns: notwithstanding which, he ran on her lee and larboard side, and began firing so close, that the guns nearly touched. Shortly after which, the Revolutionaire caught fire in the mizen-top, and her mizen-mast went by the board. The action continued two hours without intermission. At ten o'clock, both ships were completely cut up, and the Revolutionaire fell athwart hawse of the Audacious, and as preparations were made to board her, she struck her colours; immediately after which her fore and main-masts fell over her side: the night being dark and wet, she was lost sight of. On the approach of daylight, she was observed

lying like a log on the water, with a signal of distress flying, and the only ship then in sight. Captain Parker bore up to take possession, and when within half a mile of her, and the weather clearing up, seven sail of the line and six frigates, belonging to the enemy, were discovered; upon which, and seeing there was no chance of rejoining Lord Howe, he bore away for Plymouth, followed the whole day by the enemy, who occasionally fired at him.

The British fleet having continued in pursuit of the enemy, they kept in sight of each other all night, in a parallel direction, the enemy still to windward. Early next morning, Lord Howe made the signal for the fleet to tack, with the intention of making an impression on the enemy's rear; and the French admiral, instead of flinching from the contest, immediately wore from van to rear, and edged down in a line of battle ahead, for the purpose of bringing the van of the British fleet to action. So favourable an opportunity was not to be lost sight of by Lord Howe, who immediately made the signal for passing through the enemy's line; but as the Cæsar, which was the leading ship, did not keep her wind, he gave orders for the Queen Charlotte to tack, and being well supported by the Bellerophron and Leviathan, he broke through the enemy's line between the fifth and sixth ships from the rear. During the time the remainder of the British fleet were passing to leeward, the enemy wore to the eastward in succession, for the purpose of succouring their disabled ships in the rear; and having accomplished that object, wore again by signal, and stood away in order of battle, followed by the British fleet. Notwithstanding Lord Howe had, by superior abilities and exertion, gained the wind of the enemy, a thick fog arose, and prevented the renewal of the action for the two ensuing days. At length it cleared away, and the morning sun of the 1st of June displayed the hostile squadrons drawn up in order of battle, and prepared to hurl destruction on their opponents. His lordship having made the signal for breakfast, the time necessarily occupied in its preparation induced the enemy to believe, that he wished to defer the action: in this, however, they were greatly mistaken; no sooner had the time elapsed that is allowed for that purpose, than he made the signal to bear up, and for each ship to engage her opponent in the enemy's line, who were about two miles to leeward, and who, having been joined by Admiral Neilly with four sail of the line, had detached their disabled ships, leaving 26 sail of the line to 25, with which they waited the attack with the greatest resolution. His lordship now

having given these orders, and relaxing somewhat of the usual sternness of his features, with joy and hope beaming in his countenance, gave directions to the master to lay him along side the French admiral. The Queen Charlotte suffered severely in going down, but by an extraordinary display of seamanship on the part of the master, Mr. Bowen, an admirable position was taken under the stern of the Montagne, and he discharged his broadside into her starboard quarter. It will not be expected that we should enter fully into a description of all the heroic feats achieved on that memorable day; suffice it to say, that it was maintained on both sides with the most courageous determination; that so close was the contest, that the fate of the battle depended but little on the exertion of nautical abilities; and though the advantage of discipline and skill was on the side of the British, the ships of the enemy were the finest of their class, their weight of metal superior to their opponents', and being built on larger scantling, gave them great advantages in close action; whilst their crews, animated by a recollection of their country, a sense of her dangers, and the exertions she was then making, fought with that degree of enthusiasm which a spirit of liberty never fails to ensure. "Yet upon this occasion, when the drapery of the three-coloured flag not unfrequently mingled with that of the British cross, and the muzzles of the guns of many of the ships belonging to the two hostile fleets almost touched each other, the superiority of the English seamen was eminently conspicuous: disciplined into war, the undaunted eye, the steady arm, the animated countenance, denoted that they were not unacquainted with the element on which they fought; and while the shot of the enemy made but little havoc on decks where there were no useless men, every broadside spread death and desolation through the crowded vessels of their antagonists." The French admiral, officers, and crews were soon convinced that victory would not be with them. In less than an hour after the action became general, several of their ships were disabled, and Villeret determined to relinquish the contest; he crowded all sail and made off, followed by all those which were in a condition to follow him: six*, however, remained in possession of the victors, exclusive of one† which was sunk. Their loss of men has never been correctly ascertained, and has consequently been variously stated.

* La Sans Pareille and La Juste of 80 guns; L'Achille, L'Amerique, L'Impetueux, and Le Northumberland, of 74.

† Le Vengeur 74.

Honour so resplendent, advantages so important, could not be expected to be achieved without loss on the part of the victors; and in addition to the severe damage sustained by the ships, they had about 280 men killed, and about 790 wounded.

Several of the British squadron being totally disabled, his lordship returned to England, and arrived off the Isle of Wight on the 13th June; and on the same day returned thanks to Almighty God for the distinguished examples of resolution, spirit, and perseverance, which had been displayed by every description of officers and men during the actions of the 28th and 29th May and 1st June.

Naval glory has ever been dear to this country, and great naval exploits find their sure reward in the favour of the King, the thanks of Parliament, and the gratitude of the nation: these his lordship received; and on the 26th of the same month, his Majesty, accompanied by the princesses, went to Portsmouth, and dined with Lord Howe on board the Queen Charlotte; on which occasion his Majesty presented the earl with a valuable sword, and chain of gold, to which a medal, struck on the occasion, was to be appended; and expressed his royal approbation of the service performed. As a farther proof of his satisfaction, he shortly after offered him a marquisate: this distinction, however, his lordship chose to decline.

The metropolis, and several of the provincial towns, were illuminated for three nights; the people in general manifested the utmost joy on the achievement of this important victory, and large sums of money were subscribed for the relief of the widows and children of those who had performed such brilliant services.

The fleet having been refitted, and notwithstanding his lordship was suffering so severely from the gout, that he was obliged to be hoisted on board in a chair, he still continued in the command, and proceeded off Brest to watch the enemy's movements: but, as might naturally be expected from their humbled situation, they did not again venture out while his lordship remained off the port. He continued in this command till May 1795, when his health being considerably impaired, he resigned the situation, and was succeeded by Lord Bridport.

In 1796, in consequence of the death of Admiral Forbes, he became admiral of the fleet; and in the month of March, was appointed general of marines.

His lordship might now be considered as withdrawn from the service;

his glorious career seemed to be nearly drawn to a close: yet did another circumstance occur (the mutiny of 1797), to render it necessary for him to appear again on the scene of action; and it may be doubted, whether the service he performed on that occasion was not equal to any he had rendered the country by conquering her enemies on the ocean: for he was known to possess a high controul over the minds of the seamen, a controul, not arising from severe or harsh measures, for though his lordship was a steady enforcer of discipline, he possessed the hearts, the esteem of the seamen: indeed it is much doubted, whether any officer ever so much obtained the confidence and affection of those whom he commanded: they knew he was a most scientific navigator, a most able officer; that he possessed a most benevolent disposition; that he would pay personal visits to the sick, whether from wounds or otherwise, ordering his live stock and wines to be administered to their use whenever the surgeon considered it necessary. These qualifications, joined to his general manners, obtained for him the veneration of the men, of those who were now in a state of insubordination; so that on his arrival at Portsmouth, with the act of Parliament passed in their favour, and power to settle the matter in dispute, the delegates, having landed, proceeded in the men-of-war's barges, accompanied by his lordship, and as he was then suffering from the gout, he was borne by the men into every ship; and on his return to shore in the evening, he was carried by them on their shoulders to the governor's house.

So convinced was his Majesty of the importance of Lord Howe's services on this occasion, that he shortly after conferred upon him the ancient order of the Garter.

We now approach the termination of his lordship's earthly career, in which it must be confessed, that he had run a glorious race: his lordship died August 5, 1799, of the gout in his head; being at the time in his 74th year. After the full and, we trust, impartial statement we have given of his lordship's professional services, it may appear almost supererogatory to attempt any delineation of a character so well known, to point out proofs of his superior abilities, or to say one word in praise of an officer who served his king and country for sixty years with equal honour to himself and advantage to the state; but as his lordship, like many of his cotemporaries, could not steer through life without exciting the censure of the malevolent, we hope to stand excused for taking a brief review of those actions, which England will ever proudly remember,

and in whose career there is scarcely any situation in the profession in which he did not display equal abilities, whether considered in the manifestation of zeal and enterprize in cutting out a merchantman, the capturing a single vessel of war, or the important qualifications of manœuvring a fleet, more particularly one numerically inferior, and rendering it superior by his vast knowledge of naval tactics; for proof of which we have only to turn to the foregoing pages. See him in 1745, when he first obtained the command of a sloop; view him after his advancement to post-rank, his capture of the Lys, and in the attack on the Isle of Aix; behold him on the coast of France, his destruction of the enemy's shipping and their magazines, and the consummate coolness and presence of mind displayed by him on the disastrous retreat of the British army. Witness his exertions in America, where all that could be done by loyalty and zeal, all that could be done by professional knowledge, or the most sincere devotion to his country's glory, was done, as far as his limited means would allow. " With an inferiority of force, which held out mere preservation as the summit of hope, by a continued and rapid succession of the greatest possible exertions, masterly manœuvres, and wise measures, he first counteracted, and at length defeated all the views and attempts of his enemy, and obliged him to fly for refuge to those new allies he came to protect." In conducting those operations, he adopted a mode of conduct altogether unknown to former naval commanders, and which, indeed, none but those of acknowledged bravery would venture to adopt; but, fortunately for his lordship, the brilliancy of his courage had appeared on many trying occasions, and it was generally acknowledged, that in the naval line he had not a superior. Notwithstanding which, on his arrival in England, he did not meet with a reception due to his abilities and well-meaning endeavours; and he found himself obliged to decline serving under an administration, from which he did not receive that satisfaction in the discharge of his duty which is expected by an active, vigorous, and vigilant commander; a circumstance at all times to be regretted, but more particularly so in one who was always found to be an uncorrupted friend to the interests of England, possessed of the entire confidence and affection of the seamen, combining a thorough knowledge of the profession with the most cool and determined courage. It is, however, to his latter years that we wish to direct particular attention: first, in 1782, when he had to contend against the fleets

of Holland, France, and Spain; and, however great the services were which he had hitherto performed, however great the difficulty, the danger, and the responsibility of the situations were in which he had hitherto been placed, they were as nothing compared to the importance of the command he then held. The objects he had then to achieve were three, distinct in their nature, and each of the utmost interest to the country: the preventing the Dutch fleet from joining those of France and Spain, by which the whole of the English coast would have been open to their depredations;—the protection of the homeward-bound fleet from the West Indies, the loss of which, under existing circumstances, would have been attended with the most disastrous consequences;—and the relief of Gibraltar, then sustaining one of the most important sieges recorded in history, the surrender of which would have wrested from this country one of the greatest proofs of her power and pre-eminence. Respecting this latter service, it has been justly asserted, that "foreign nations acknowledged its glory, and every future age will confirm it. Not only the hopes, but the fears of his country accompanied his lordship on that occasion: the former rested upon his consummate abilities and approved bravery; while the latter could not but look to the many obstacles he had to subdue, and the superior advantages of the fleet that was to oppose him. Nevertheless he fulfilled the grand objects of the expedition; the garrison of Gibraltar was effectually relieved; the hostile fleet baffled, and dared in vain to battle; and the different squadrons detached to their important destinations; while the ardent and certain hopes of his country's foes were disappointed." It was this action which Lord Howe always spoke of to his dying day as the greatest he ever performed, and as the only one of which he claimed the sole merit to himself.

His conduct during the war with revolutionary France forms an epoch in the annals of England. Here, however, he had again to contend against the most unjust complaints; he was now grown too old, he was too cautious, his mind and body were enervated by sickness: but after the action of the 1st June, wherein he set the example of close fight, and exhibited all the ardour of youth, tempered by experience, his wisdom, patience, and fortitude were as much extolled, as his skill, courage, and intrepidity. It was that great crisis which decided the naval superiority of Britain; it confounded her enemies, and astonished the whole world. Had not the French navy been crippled in the early stages of the Revo-

lution, and previous to their being joined by those of Spain and Holland, the difficulties of the war would have been greatly increased, and rendered perhaps insurmountable: but from that great event, success continued to follow our arms, and every naval contest was invariably attended with the most beneficial results.

Whether, therefore, we consider the judgment he displayed during a long and active life, the success which attended his exertions, or the bright prospect which his victories opened to the country, we find no cause for censure; but, on the contrary, every occasion for admiration, for joy and exultation. Thus did he increase the honour he derived from his ancestors by the glory of his own actions; and by these actions were the safety and independence of the kingdom secured. But amidst the good fortune which attended him, the honour and rewards bestowed upon him, he was modest and unassuming; suffering no change of circumstances to rob him of those virtues of generosity, moderation, and forbearance, for which he was ever distinguished.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL SIR PETER PARKER, BART.

THE immediate ancestor of this gentleman was Rear-Admiral Christopher Parker, who was descended from an ancient and respectable family in Ireland; and who, by his services in the navy, merited and obtained a high character in his profession. To imitate his actions, and to acquire the same respect by the same honourable means, was the object of his son, who at a very early age entered on the toils of that service, the highest honours of which he lived to attain. He first went to sea with his father, from whom he received all that instruction, attention, and care, which a fond parent could bestow, and which was necessary to fit him for the situation which he was destined to fill. Though he passed through the subordinate situations without having any opportunity of displaying that manly courage and intrepidity which fearlessly looks upon dangers; which, when surrounded with difficulties, finds a resource in its own foundation, that enables the possessor, if not to surmount, at least to retire from the contest with honour and reputation, and which in a later period of his life was fully manifested; we are assured, that he passed through the gradations of the service to the entire satisfaction of those officers under whom he served. He attained the rank of post-captain on the 6th May, 1747; but we have nothing particular to relate of him till after the commencement of the war with France in 1756, when he was appointed to the Woolwich of 44 guns, and proceeded to the West Indies, under the command of Commodore Moore, where he captured the Marshal de Broglio, a very valuable ship from Brest, laden with warlike stores and provisions. In the unsuccessful attack on Martinique, Captain Parker was employed to silence the enemy's batteries, a service which he effectually performed; but the difficulties on landing appearing to be greater than was anticipated, and such as were not likely soon to be surmounted, the commanders determined to abandon the enterprize. But though foiled in this object, they resolved not to return with the disgrace of having done nothing worthy of the greatness of the armament, and the expectations of the country.

They therefore directed their operations against Guadaloupe, which, after a three months' defence, they obliged to surrender. In the reduction of this island, Captain Parker distinguished himself by his activity and zeal.

Having removed into the Buckingham, he returned to England in the following year with a convoy of merchantmen; and in 1761, was employed under Commodore Keppel in the reduction of Bellisle. After this conquest had been effected, he was detached to Basque roads with Sir Thomas Stanhope, who directed the Buckingham, Monmouth, Nassau, and Furnace bomb, to destroy the fortifications on the Isle of Aix. In the prosecution of this service, Captain Parker encountered a number of praams and row-gallies, fitted for the purpose of carrying a heavy carronade, and from their lying very low in the water, were considered as very formidable. Captain Parker, however, sustained but very little damage in the contest, and entirely succeeded in the object of his mission. He continued on this station till 1762, when he returned to port, and the Buckingham being in want of a thorough repair, he removed into the Terrible; but peace having shortly after taken place, put a period to his services.

In 1772, his Majesty was pleased to confer upon him the honour of knighthood; and in 1775, he was appointed to command a squadron on the American station. He sailed for that destination towards the end of the year, with a fleet of transports, having on board a large body of troops, under the command of Lord Cornwallis; but owing to the adverse state of the weather, he did not reach Cape Fear till the beginning of May. It having been determined to make an attack on Charlestown, the squadron, consisting of two 50-gun ships, six light frigates, and some smaller vessels, arrived off that port on the 4th June. The passing of the bar was a matter of time, difficulty, and danger, especially with regard to the two large ships, which, notwithstanding the taking out of their guns, and using every other means to lighten them, struck the ground several times. This obstacle being surmounted, the next object was the attack of a fort on Sullivan's Island, which commanded the passage to Charlestown, and which the enemy had, with the utmost ability and ingenuity, put into a formidable state of defence; but which had, unfortunately, been represented to General Clinton and Sir Peter Parker as in an unfinished state. Placing, however, a firm reliance on the known valour and discipline of British seamen, the commander resolved to assail it with

the least possible delay. The arrangements being settled, the attack commenced on the 28th: about eleven o'clock, the Bristol, Experiment, Active, and Solebay, brought up against the fort; while the Sphinx, Acteon, and Syren were ordered to be placed to the westward, to prevent fire-ships and other vessels from annoying the ships engaged abreast of the fort, as well as to enfilade the works of the insurgents, to prevent them from receiving any succour from the main land, and to cut off their retreat should they abandon the fort. These intentions, however, were entirely frustrated through the unskilfulness of the pilot, who ran them all aground. After much difficulty, the Sphinx and Syren were got off; but all endeavours to float the Acteon were ineffectual, and the next morning she was set on fire, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy. In the mean time, a heavy and incessant cannonade was kept up between the Bristol, Experiment, and the fort. But whilst the continued thunder from the ships seemed sufficient to shake the firmest enemy, and daunt the courage of the stoutest heart, the return made by the fort was such as could not fail of calling forth the respect of a brave and determined foe. They behaved with a courage and coolness that astonished the officers and seamen of Britain; they stuck with the greatest firmness to their guns, fired deliberately, and took a cool and effective aim. The ships suffered accordingly; they were almost torn to pieces, and the slaughter on board was dreadful. Never did British courage shine more conspicuously, never was an attack made with more intrepidity, nor defence with more deliberate valour.

The springs of the Bristol's cables being cut, she lay for some time exposed to a dreadful raking fire from the enemy, who discharged red-hot balls, and set her twice in flames; during which, the conduct of every person on board was conspicuous in the highest degree. But such was the slaughter with which it was attended, that every officer and seaman on her quarter-deck was either killed or wounded, except Sir Peter Parker, who, amidst a shower of balls, remained alone unhurt, and who, amidst this scene of death and desolation, continued to give his orders with such coolness, intrepidity, and firmness, as have seldom been equalled, and most certainly never exceeded*.

* The behaviour of Captain Morris was also extraordinary in every respect: after receiving four wounds, either of which would have justified him in retiring from his station, he still, with a noble resolution, disdained to quit the deck, until his arm being shot away, he was carried below, and obliged to submit to amputation. During this opera-

The execution from the British ships was very considerable, though it did not produce all the effects which were hoped and expected. Twice was the enemy's fire totally silenced, during which the commodore waited with the utmost anxiety and suspense for the co-operation of the troops under General Clinton, who it was expected would have participated in the operations by fording Sullivan's Creek; but the depth of water proving much greater than was imagined, he was obliged to remain an inactive spectator of the courage and perseverance of British seamen. The commodore, therefore, seeing no hopes of assistance, the ebb tide nearly out, and the Bristol having had her main-top-mast and mizen-mast shot away, with 40 men killed, and 71 wounded; and having done all that skill and courage could prompt a brave officer to do upon such an occasion, discontinued an action which no longer afforded any probability of success, and after lying above nine hours before the fort, gave orders for the ships to draw off. The Bristol and Experiment were so much damaged, that it was apprehended that they could not be got over the bar: this, however, through great skill and labour, was accomplished, to the utter astonishment of the enemy.

As soon as circumstances would admit, the army was re-embarked, and the squadron returned to New-York. The commodore now acted under the orders of Lord Howe, and in the attack on Long Island acquitted himself entirely to his lordship's satisfaction. In December following, he was sent with a squadron of ships of war, and a body of land forces under General Clinton, to reduce Rhode Island, which was the principal station of the enemy's naval force, and from which they sent swarms of privateers, that greatly annoyed the British commerce both in America and the West Indies. In this expedition he met with the most complete success, and without sustaining the smallest loss.

tion, a red-hot ball went through the cockpit, killed two of the surgeon's assistants, and wounded the purser. After the confusion which this circumstance occasioned, Captain Morris insisted on being carried on the quarter-deck, to resume his command; which being complied with, he continued the fight for a considerable time after, till he was shot through the body. A prodigious effusion of blood followed, and his dissolution becoming inevitable, one of the officers asked him if he had any directions to give with respect to his family. To which he nobly replied, "None: I leave them to the providence of God and the generosity of my country." A sentiment truly worthy of an English officer, which was not lost on a gracious sovereign, who sent his widow a handsome present, and settled an annuity on her for life. Captain Scott of the Experiment also behaved with great bravery, and besides the loss of an arm, was otherwise dangerously wounded.

On the 20th May, 1777*, he was most justly promoted to be rear-ádmiral of the Blue. He continued to command at Rhode Island till the month of November, when he was appointed commander-in-chief on the Jamaica station. In February 1779†, he was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral of the Blue. He continued on this station till 1782, and by a most skilful distribution of the ships under his command, the commerce of England was effectually protected; that of the enemy was nearly destroyed, and vast numbers of their privateers and cruisers were captured: so that he greatly increased his private fortune at the expense of the enemies of his country.

After the glorious victory obtained by Sir George Rodney on the 12th April, Sir Peter Parker hoisted his flag on board the Sandwich, in which were embarked the Count de Grasse and the principal officers who were made prisoners on that important day, and taking under his convoy a large fleet of merchant-ships, returned to England. His gallant services were not passed over unrewarded, having had the honour to be created a baronet; a distinction which, considered as the reward of merit, must have been far more grateful to his feelings, than any pecuniary consideration: honourable distinction is the most cherished recompence of minds truly heroic.

The following year put an end to the war; a war which, at the commencement, and during its progress, promised to be attended with the most disastrous consequences to the country. It, however, fortunately happened, that the danger was less dreadful in the result than was expected. The great combination of the house of Bourbon with the American colonies was far from producing all the evil effects which were anticipated. If the successes of England, upon the whole, were not great, her losses, however considerable, were still less than might naturally have been apprehended; and it affords a matter of great consolation, that during its continuance, no diminution of national glory was sustained through any failure in the native valour of our seamen, who supported, on all occasions, and under all circumstances, the character which they had long enjoyed.

* *Annual Register*, Schomberg, and *Naval Chronicle*. Mr. Beatson and Mr. Charnock state it to have been on the 28th April.

† *Annual Register*, Schomberg, and *Naval Chronicle*. Mr. Beatson, however, states it to have been on the 29th March; and Mr. Charnock, on the 19th of the same month.

Early in 1787, Sir Peter Parker was chosen M. P. for Malden; and on the 24th September, in the same year, he was made admiral of the Blue.

In 1793, he was appointed commander-in-chief at Portsmouth, a situation which he continued to hold with the highest reputation till 1799, when he attained the rank of admiral of the fleet, which he retained till an end was put to his earthly career. He died with a high professional character: his gallantry and activity in any case of sudden emergency were indubitable; while his private demeanour most deservedly acquired him the love, the esteem, and the affection of those who had the honour of his acquaintance.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL THE HON. SAMUEL BARRINGTON.

THIS distinguished officer was the fifth son of John, the first Lord Barrington, and Anne, daughter and co-heiress of Sir W. Daines. According to Playfair, the family is of great antiquity, being of Norman extraction, and that its original name was Shute; but considerable property having been left to Mr. Barrington (the father of the admiral) by Mr. Barrington, who had married his aunt, he assumed the name of Barrington, and was subsequently raised to the dignity of an Irish peerage, by the title of Viscount Barrington.

Admiral Barrington commenced his naval career in the eleventh year of his age, when he was placed on board the Lark of 44 guns, under the protection of Lord George Graham. Subsequently to which he served on board the Leopard, and sailed to the Mediterranean: here he was appointed to a lieutenantcy; and, having passed through the intermediate rank of commander, was on the 29th May, 1747, promoted to be post-captain in the Bellona frigate, being at the time scarcely eighteen years of age. In this ship he sailed on a cruise off the coast of France, and had the good fortune to fall in with and capture, after an action of two hours' hard fighting, the Duc de Chartres, a French East India ship of 30 guns. Having thus signalized his courage and abilities, and warranted his early promotion, he was shortly afterwards promoted to the Romney of 50 guns; and in the following year, captured another French Indiaman of 400 tons burthen.

In 1750, he commanded the Seahorse, and proceeded to the Mediterranean, under the orders of Commodore Keppel, and rendered very eminent service to his country in the negociation for ransoming a number of British subjects, who had been made slaves of by the piratical states of Barbary. On his return to England, he was appointed to the Crown of 44 guns, and ordered to the coast of Guinea: but commanding a frigate on such a station, during a time of profound peace, cannot be expected to afford many materials for biography. On the expiration of his command, he returned to England, and was appointed to the Nonsuch

of 50 guns, in which he proceeded to America, again serving under the orders of Commodore Keppel. He was, however, no farther concerned in any way to merit our particular attention till 1757, when he was appointed to the Achilles of 60 guns, and served in the expedition against Rochefort. On the return of the squadron, he was employed to cruise in the Channel; and in the following year, the Achilles was attached to the squadron under Captain Pratten, when they fell in with a French 64-gun ship. The Dorsetshire, Captain Dennis, was immediately ordered in chase; and soon afterwards the Achilles received similar directions: but though this signal was obeyed with the utmost alacrity by Captain Barrington, the enemy's ship struck to the Dorsetshire before the Achilles could take any part in the action. In the following year, however, he was more fortunate. Being on a cruise off Cape Finisterre, on the 4th April, he fell in with the St. Florentine of 60 guns, which he captured, after an action of two hours, in which the enemy had 116 killed and wounded, the whole of her masts shot away, and reduced to a mere wreck. Great as the carnage was on board the enemy, the victory was obtained with the loss, on the part of the conquerors, of only 2 men killed and 22 wounded. The Achilles having been refitted, and an attack meditated on Havre de Grace, Rear-Admiral Rodney hoisted his flag on board that ship, and Captain Barrington consequently shared with him in the honours achieved on that occasion. This service having been performed, the Achilles formed one of the squadron under Captain Duff, to watch the motions of the enemy in the Morbihan. In the month of September, some French vessels were observed, and chased into a bay near the entrance of that harbour; and it having been resolved to attempt to cut them out or destroy them, a pilot undertook to conduct the ships in: but not having a sufficient knowledge of the coast, the Achilles, which was the leading ship, in going into the bay, ran on a sunken rock with great force, and made so much water, that it was imagined the crew could not save her from sinking. By superior skill and good seamanship, however, she was conducted to Plymouth; but so great was the danger, and so little expectation was entertained of her being able to make that port, that Admiral Hawke ordered two frigates to keep close by her, to be ready to save the crew, and to afford all the assistance in their power. When the Achilles got into the sound, she hoisted the signal of distress, whereupon a number of boats full of men were immediately sent off to her; and by the time she got up to Ha-

moaze, was completely unrigged, and her guns taken out. Still all the pumps were obliged to be kept at work, as they had more difficulty to keep the ship up than ever. At last, after much labour, she was got into dock. When left dry, a large hole was found in her bottom, which, it was supposed, had been occasioned by a piece of rock that had stuck in it, but which had fallen out when she was unrigging*. This unfortunate circumstance deprived Captain Barrington from sharing in the laurels gained in the defeat of the French fleet under Conflans.

In 1760, he accompanied Admiral Byron to America, when he was ordered thither to destroy the fortifications of Louisbourg. In the beginning of the following year he was employed with Admiral Keppel in the reduction of Bellisle; and having highly distinguished himself during the whole siege, by the gallantry and ardour he evinced on several occasions, particularly in the attack of one of the forts, he was intrusted by Admiral Keppel with the dispatches, containing an account of the surrender of the place; on which occasion his Majesty received him very graciously, and ordered him a present of five hundred pounds.

At the commencement of the ensuing year, we find him on board the Hero of 74 guns, serving under the orders of Sir E. Hawke, and subsequently of Sir Charles Hardy. In this ship he continued till the conclusion of the war, without meeting with any material occurrence. The Hero having been paid off, Captain Barrington retired for a time into private life, not having accepted of any command till 1768, when he was appointed to the Venus of 36 guns, at that time considered one of the finest ships of her class in the British navy, and in which his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland was placed as a midshipman, under the particular care and tuition of Captain Barrington. The rules of the service having been dispensed with in the promotion of the duke, Captain Barrington quitted the command of the Venus in October following, for the purpose of giving him post-rank in that ship. His royal highness having been shortly afterwards advanced to be rear-admiral, Captain Barrington resumed the command of the Venus, and accompanied him as his captain to Lisbon. On the dispute with Spain relative to the Falkland Islands, Captain Barrington was appointed to the Albion of 74 guns. Though that affair was accommodated, Captain Barrington still retained the command of the Albion. In 1771, he was appointed a colonel of marines; in 1772, he accompanied Admiral Spry on a short

* Beatson.

cruise to the westward; and in 1773, the Albion formed one of the ships reviewed by his Majesty at Spithead.

In 1777, Captain Barrington was commissioned to the Prince of Wales of 74 guns, and was employed to cruise in the Channel. On the 23d January following, he was advanced to be rear-admiral of the White; and in the month of May sailed to the Leeward Islands, having been appointed commander-in-chief on that station. The rupture with France took place shortly after, and as that court had only been waiting till their preparations were complete, and a favourable opportunity of throwing off the mask should present itself, they sent early intelligence of the event to their commanders in the West Indies, with orders to commence hostilities; which were promptly obeyed by the Marquis de Bouille, governor of Martinique, who attacked the Island of Dominique, previous to Admiral Barrington's having received any advice of war having taken place. Had such information been conveyed to him in due time, he would have repaired off Martinique with his squadron, and small as his force was, two sail of the line and some frigates, it would have been sufficient to have prevented any such expedition. Instead, however, of his receiving such intelligence, he was ordered to wait at Barbadoes for instructions*. But as soon as he was informed that Dominique was attacked, though his instructions had not arrived, he proceeded with the utmost speed to its relief; but the conquest of it was too rapid to afford him an opportunity of giving it that assistance which he so ardently wished. The zeal and alacrity, however, which he had shewn, and the presence of his squadron, had the effect of removing the panic which the boastings of the enemy had spread through the neighbouring islands, and prevented them from attempting any other enterprize.

Having been joined at Barbadoes on the 10th December by Commodore Hotham, and a small squadron consisting of two 64-gun ships, three of 50, and fifty-nine transports, with 5000 troops from North America, the admiral immediately determined on attacking the Island of St. Lucia; for which purpose, and to save time, he adopted the signals given out by the commodore†. On the 12th, the expedition sailed, and on the following day came to an anchor off the island. With such activity were the operations carried on, that more than half the troops were landed on the same day, and the remainder early on the 14th, under

* *Annual Register.* Beatson.

† *Gazette.*

the command of Generals Meadows, Prescott, and Sir Henry Calder, and immediately got possession of the carenage. This was scarcely effected, when the attention of Admiral Barrington was directed to the sudden appearance of a French squadron of twelve sail of the line, under D'Estaing, who doubted not, from his great superiority of force, of being able to defeat, with ease and certainty, the British naval and military force; and as that was the whole of what they had in that part of the world, it afforded him the highest satisfaction that it was collected in one place, as he flattered himself he should have it in his power to capture both troops and shipping, and thus crush at one blow the power of his rival: but the rapidity with which the troops had carried the different posts, and the excellent arrangements made by the admiral in securing every advantage they had gained over the enemy, proved the fortunate means of not only saving the British troops and squadron from destruction, but of repulsing the formidable force brought against them, and finally triumphing in the object of the expedition. This, however, would have proved a matter of much greater difficulty, and more uncertain in its issue, had the French admiral commenced the attack as soon as he arrived off the island; but it being rather late in the day, he deferred it till the following morning. This afforded time to prepare for a defence, and make the necessary dispositions for receiving the enemy; and notwithstanding the fatigue both army and navy had undergone, circumstances were so critical that it became necessary to pass the night in warping the transports into the bay, and disposing the line-of-battle ships, consisting of the Isis, St. Albans, Boyne, Nonsuch, Centurion, Preston, and Prince of Wales, across the entrance, so as to bring their broadsides to bear with the greatest effect, should the enemy make any attack upon them. The excessive fatigue necessarily attendant on operations of this nature, were submitted to with the greatest cheerfulness, and most exemplary patience and fortitude: indeed, the spirit and activity with which both officers and men, sailors and soldiers, exerted themselves on this occasion, were truly conspicuous; and such diligence was used, that by the morning they were prepared to receive the enemy. The Isis was placed to windward, rather inclining into the bay and the Prince of Wales, the flag-ship, being the most powerful, was placed outermost and to leeward; while the Venus, Aurora, and Ariadne frigates flanked the passage between the Isis and the shore, to prevent the enemy from forcing a passage that way. Such was the situation of the

squadron, with which the admiral, with the most determined resolution, waited the attack of the enemy, who, about half-past eleven, bore down with ten sail of the line, and commenced a furious cannonade; but the reception he met with soon convinced him, that he had little chance of making any impression on his opponents, by whom he was received with all the gallantry, firmness, and resolution of British seamen, and he shortly after drew off his squadron. But being determined not to give up the contest without exerting his utmost, the French admiral recommenced the attack about four o'clock in the afternoon, but with no better success than the former. After a long and warm action, the enemy retired in great disorder from the combat. On the following day, however, he shewed an evident disposition to renew the attempt, but in the end came to an anchor off Gros Islet Bay; and in the night and following day landed a large body of troops, which made a most desperate attack on the division under the command of General Meadows; but the same spirit and resolution which had been displayed by the navy, were now equally evinced by the troops on shore, and though they were considerably inferior in number to that of the enemy, they repulsed them in three desperate assaults, and finally routed them, with the loss of above 1000 men killed and wounded. During this interval, Admiral Barrington exerted himself in strengthening his position, by working the ships farther into the bay, making his line more compact, and by erecting batteries on shore to protect his flanks: but the check which the enemy had sustained, deterred him from renewing his assaults, and though, by his motions, he indicated an intention of trying the effect of another attack, after remaining awhile inactive, withdrew from the scene of action, and retired to Martinique; when the governor of St. Lucia, seeing no prospect of relief, immediately surrendered the colony.

"While the naval annals of Great Britain continue to be read, these two battles will for ever be regarded as among the most brilliant actions on record. There may have been engagements greater in extent, or more decisive in their consequences; but, every circumstance dispassionately weighed, none can possibly afford more glory and honour, than fell to the share of Admiral Barrington and his brave associates*."

Perhaps no commander ever commenced his operations with greater spirit, or greater prospects of succeeding, than the French admiral did on this occasion; and perhaps no one was ever more completely dis-

* Beatson.

appointed in the termination. So confident were both French and Americans of success, that numbers of privateers belonging to both those powers were hourly increasing the force of the enemy, in hopes of partaking of the spoil, not only of Dominique, but of all the other British West India Islands. Elate with these prospects, the enemy entered confidently into the scene of action; but he met with an adversary who stopped his progress at the beginning, and convinced him, if he succeeded in attaining his object, his success must be purchased at the dearest rate; that it could be effected only by the complete destruction of the British squadron.

Admiral Barrington having been joined by Admiral Byron, resigned the command of the squadron into his hands, and removed his flag into the Isis; but on the reappearance of the French fleet under D'Estaing, and not relishing the quiet appointment of the ships in the Cul de Sac, requested leave to return to the Prince of Wales, which was most readily granted by Admiral Byron; and he re-hoisted his flag on board that ship, to the great joy of the whole fleet. This circumstance is described by Admiral Byron in the following terms:

"As I found it necessary to take the Prince of Wales and all the ships with me to meet D'Estaing, upon his coming out of Fort Royal harbour, Rear-Admiral Barrington (who had shifted his flag to the Isis) expressed a desire to return to the Prince of Wales, and act with me, rather than remain in the Cul de Sac. I granted this request, and must acknowledge myself very unhappy at being so circumstanced as to be under an indispensable necessity of interfering with a command intrusted to an officer who has done his duty with singular advantage to his country and honour to himself."

The subsequent operations of the squadron having been detailed in our Memoir of Admiral Byron, we have only to add, that the action off Granada was such as conferred the highest honour on the professional reputation of Admiral Barrington; that he made and supported the attack with such spirit and resolution, as would have stamped him for an officer of great courage and abilities, had none been acknowledged before. In this action he was slightly wounded; and the whole loss on board the Prince of Wales was 72 killed and wounded: the ship also suffered considerably. Shortly after the termination of the contest, Admiral Barrington returned to England*.

* On the 29th March preceding, he was made vice-admiral of the Blue.

In the ensuing summer of 1780, he was appointed second in command of the Channel fleet under Admiral Geary. On that gentleman resigning the command, it was offered to Admiral Barrington, as an officer in whose abilities the nation reposed the utmost confidence; but from some cause or causes which we are unable to explain, this proposal was rejected: he, however, offered to serve as second to any senior officer who should be appointed; but the command being given to Admiral Darby, an officer junior to him in rank, he resigned the command, and was not again employed till 1782.

It cannot fail to have been observed by the general reader, and more particularly those who have attended to naval history, that at this period of danger, when the country was waging war against the two most powerful maritime countries in the world, in addition to her own revolted subjects in America, the command of her fleets should be declined by so many brave and experienced officers; men to whom the country had a right to look up for a display of their utmost abilities; that their greatest exertions, both bodily and mental, should be used in her defence; a distinction which at other times was so ardently sought after, and grasped at with the utmost avidity. For ourselves, we consider that every officer is, unless he can shew cause of honour or duty to the contrary, bound to accept of any command which he is deemed competent to fill to the public advantage, whenever he is called upon so to do.

On the change of administration in 1782, Admiral Barrington was again brought into active service, and hoisted his flag on board the Britannia, attached to the Channel fleet under Lord Howe.

During the winter months, the enemy had used their utmost exertions to equip reinforcements for the different squadrons they had at sea, particularly in the East and West Indies. The one destined for the East being ready to sail from Brest, Admiral Barrington was sent out with twelve sail of the line to intercept them, and on the 20th April fortunately descried the enemy's squadron. The signal for a general chase was immediately made by the admiral, and as promptly obeyed by the captains of his fleet. About sunset, the enemy's squadron was made out to consist of two sail and a frigate, with seventeen sail under convoy, which, on the coming up of some of the British squadron, dispersed in different directions. On this occasion, there were captured the Pegase of 74 guns, by the Foudroyant, Captain Jervis, and the Actionnaire of 64 guns, together with ten of the convoy, by other ships of the squadron.

On the return of the squadron, Admiral Barrington accompanied Lord Howe on his cruise to intercept the Dutch squadron; and subsequently to the relief of Gibraltar. In the encounter which took place with the combined fleets of France and Spain, the Britannia had 20 men killed and wounded.

In 1785, he succeeded Sir T. Pye as lieutenant-general of marines; and on the 24th September, 1787, he was advanced to the rank of admiral of the Blue. In 1790, on the prospect of a rupture with the court of Spain, he was again appointed second in command under Lord Howe, in the fleet ordered to be equipped on that occasion, and hoisted his flag on board the Royal George; but the dispute being amicably adjusted, Admiral Barrington again struck his flag. Subsequent to this event, he never held any naval command. On the 12th April, 1794, he was advanced to be admiral of the White; and in August 1799, he succeeded Lord Howe as general of marines. This appointment, however, he did not live long to enjoy, dying in September 1800.

Of Admiral Barrington it is not too much to say, that he possessed every qualification of a great naval commander; that he was brave, prudent, gallant, and enterprizing; determined, temperate, and collected, without the smallest particle of ostentation. To these qualifications are to be added the best qualities of the heart and understanding, with every characteristic of an intelligent mind; possessing the most mild and benevolent disposition*; an affability of manners that flowed from no artifice; a manly freedom and openness of soul; a cheerful and unreserved conversation, which endeared him to his inferiors and his equals, and at once commanded the most profound respect and esteem.

* The following anecdote may be cited as a proof of the admiral's kindness of heart: Mr. Stephens, his naval secretary, and who was in the habit of auditing his accounts, observed to him on one occasion, that he seemed to have a large balance in the hands of his banker, and advised him to vest part of it in exchequer or navy bills. To which he replied, "What! do you take me for ——, who never has any money at his banker's to enable him to assist a friend in distress? No, no; let the balance remain."

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF ADMIRAL ARBUTHNOT.

THE notices respecting Admiral Arbuthnot's family are so contradictory, that there appears very little probability of reconciling them with any degree of satisfaction. By one party he has been represented as the *son* of Dr. Arbuthnot, the friend of Swift, of Garth, and of Pope; by others as the *nephew* of that celebrated character; while a third denies any such relationship. It, however, appears pretty certain, that he was a native of Weymouth in Dorsetshire; and all agree that he entered early into the naval service, and that he displayed great zeal and attention to the several duties attached to the station. In August 1739, he was made a lieutenant; and in 1746, he obtained the command of the Jamaica sloop, in which he was employed to cruise in the Channel, and had the good fortune to capture two French privateers. In April 1747, being in company with Captain Webb of the Surprise, he took, after a desperate action of seven hours, the Superbe, a French ship of 36 guns, bound from St. Maloes to Cadiz and the South Seas, with a valuable cargo, estimated at seventy thousand pounds. The valour and zeal displayed in this contest, secured to Captain Arbuthnot that promotion which is due to merit and ability; and accordingly he obtained the rank of post-captain on the 22d June following. Being appointed to the Triton of 24 guns, a continuation of the same assiduity he had evinced during his command of the Jamaica, procured for him a continuation of the same success; having captured the Tigre, a remarkably fine privateer of 16 guns, and the capture of which was extremely fortunate, as she had already done considerable damage to the British trade. He next commanded the Garland of 20 guns; but during the time he continued in that vessel his name is not coupled with any particular incident. In 1759, he was appointed to the Portland of 50 guns, and placed under the orders of Commodore Duff, who was employed to watch the enemy's motions in the Morbihan. In the prosecution of this service, they were chased off Bellisle by the French fleet under Conflans, and but for the opportune arrival of Admiral Hawke, would no doubt have fallen an easy prey: from that alternative, however, they were extricated by the British admiral, who, notwithstanding the lee shore and rocks, attacked

and totally defeated the French admiral. Commodore Duff's squadron being considered only as frigates, were not brought into action; but on the following morning, the Portland, Chatham, and Vengeance were sent to destroy the Soleil Royal and Hero, which had run ashore: on their approach, the enemy set the former on fire, and the latter soon followed the same fate, through the spirited exertions of British seamen. After the action, Captain Arbuthnot accompanied Commodore Young to Quiberon; and in 1761, having removed into the Orford, he proceeded to Jamaica, where he joined the squadron under Commodore Holmes. In the following year, he was employed under Sir George Pococke in the memorable reduction of the Havannah, and which closed his services for that war. During the ensuing peace, no particular mention is made of him till 1770, when he was appointed to the Terrible of 74 guns, stationed as guardship at Portsmouth, in which he continued during the usual period of three years.

On the breaking out of the rebellion in America, the navy-yard at Halifax became an object of great importance, that being the only port where ships of war could then be refitted; and Captain Arbuthnot was appointed principal commissioner, the duties of which he continued to fulfil till January 1778, when he was promoted to be rear-admiral of the White, and was shorly after succeeded in his commissionship by Sir Richard Hughes. On his return to England, he sat as one of the members of the court-martial that tried Admiral Keppel; shortly after the termination of which, he was raised to the rank of vice-admiral of the Blue*, and appointed commander-in-chief in North America. He sailed for that destination on the 1st May, having under his orders four sail of the line, a 50-gun ship, a frigate, transports containing about 7000 soldiers, and about three hundred sail of merchantmen. On the following day, he fell in with a vessel which had been sent express from Jersey to England, with an account of an attack being made on that island by a body of French troops. He therefore determined rather to hazard any personal consequences that might attend a breach of orders, than to suffer the enemy to obtain possession of so valuable an island, whilst he commanded a force in the Channel, without making an effort to relieve it. He accordingly ordered the convoy to wait for him in Torbay, and

* The *Annual Register* and Captain Schomberg place this elevation in the month of February; Mr. Charnock and the *Naval Chronicle* on the 19th March; and Mr. Beatson on the 29th March.

proceeded direct for Jersey; but learning, before his arrival, that the enemy had been repulsed, he rejoined his convoy, and pursued his original instructions. This, however, was unfortunately productive of disagreeable consequences with regard to the American war; for although the delay occasioned by this measure was in the first instance but trifling, yet through the succeeding casualties of wind and weather, the fleet was not able to clear the Channel before the ensuing month, and did not reach New-York till near the end of August, which considerably retarded the operations of the army, as the fleet was laden with warlike stores of every description. Joined to which, the arrival of a formidable French fleet obliged both Admiral Arbuthnot and General Clinton to remain on the defensive. This interval was employed by the admiral in rectifying the enormous abuses existing in the naval hospital on Long Island, in which he acted with great spirit and humanity.

On the arrival of the Count d'Estaing from the West Indies to co-operate with the Americans, they proposed first to reduce the province of Georgia and the other southern provinces; and after that should be effected, which they expected to do with very little difficulty, their next object was the reduction of New-York, and the total expulsion of the English from America. With this view, the siege of Savannah was undertaken; but being defeated in their attempts to carry the place by storm, they broke up their camp, and retired from the contest. Mutual recriminations took place between the French and American commanders; and the former, after dispatching part of his fleet to the West Indies, returned with the others to Europe. This retreat of the French squadron enabled Admiral Arbuthnot to act on the offensive. South Carolina was the object of the enterprize, and their operations were to commence with the siege of Charlestown. They left New-York on the 26th December*, but owing to contrary winds and stormy weather, did not reach the coast of Georgia till the end of January. The army was landed on the 11th February; but the unfavourable state of the weather still continuing, and the line-of-battle ships not being able to enter any of the inlets, suffered considerably, and one of them, the Defiance of 64 guns, was wrecked. Admiral Arbuthnot having shifted his flag from the Europe to the Roebuck of 44 guns, and it having been found impracticable to use any vessels except those of a light draught of water, the Europe and Raisonable went into Port Royal, and the other line-of-

* The *Naval Chronicle* erroneously states, that they left New-York on the 11th Feb.

battle ships returned to New-York under the command of Commodore Drake; leaving the admiral only the Renown of 50 guns, the Romulus and Roebuck of 44, the Blonde, Perseus, Camilla, and Raleigh frigates, with which he effectually blocked up the port of Charlestown. While the general was preparing for the siege, the admiral was busily employed in making the necessary preparations for lightening his ships, preparatory to their passing the bar. It was, however, the 20th March before this operation could be carried into effect, owing to the adverse state of the wind and tide. The entrance of the harbour being thus gained, the enemy's ships of war, consisting of one American ship, pierced for 60 guns, but mounting only 44, and seven from 16 to 32 guns; with a French frigate of 26 guns, a polacre of 18, and four armed gallies, which were moored across the narrow passages between Sullivan's Island and the middle ground, in such a position as to enable them to rake the English ships as they approached Fort Moultrie, and appeared determined to defend the passage to the last extremity, no sooner saw the British ships had passed the bar, than this apparent resolution gave way; they retired first to Fort Moultrie, and then, abandoning it to its fate, to the town itself, off which five of their ships, with several merchantmen, all of them being fitted with *chevaux de frise* on their decks, were sunk to obstruct the passage. To this precaution was added a boom, composed of cables, chains, and spars, extending from the shore to the sunken vessels, behind which were placed the remainder of their vessels, protected by their batteries ashore, on which were mounted forty pieces of heavy ordnance; and they doubted not of being able to make a successful defence.

The siege was carried on with the greatest vigour on shore; but as the success on land depended on the joint operations of the fleet, the admiral prepared to draw nearer to the town; and taking advantage of wind and tide, he carried this into effect on the 9th April. In passing Fort Moultrie the squadron was exposed to a heavy fire. All those obstacles which were raised to oppose the progress of the British squadron being overcome, in two hours they anchored under James's Island. This object being gained, Admiral Arbuthnot took the most prompt and effectual measures for blocking up all the inlets leading to the town, so that the enemy was now as completely invested as circumstances would admit. He then proceeded to attack the enemy's fort at Mount Pleasant, for which purpose 500 seamen and marines were landed, under the com-

mand of Captains Hudson, Orde, and Gambier, and which was carried without opposition, the enemy having abandoned it on their approach. By this success, and the knowledge which the admiral obtained, by means of deserters, of the state of Fort Moultrie, he considered it practicable to carry it by storm with the marines and part of the ships crews, under cover of the ships of the squadron. Every thing being in readiness, the garrison was summoned to surrender, and after a little consideration, they became prisoners of war. This was the forerunner of the surrender of Charlestown itself, which capitulated on the 11th May; when the following vessels fell into the hands of the victors: the Providence and Boston of 32 guns, L'Aventure of 26, the Ranger of 20, a polacre of 16, and some smaller vessels.

During the whole of the operations the most perfect harmony subsisted in both army and navy; there existed a spirit of emulation which excited the most active exertions, and, as we have shewn, was productive of the most important consequences. For the vigour, talent, and bravery displayed during the siege, the admiral had the satisfaction to receive the thanks of both Houses of Parliament.

Having returned to New-York, the admiral shortly after received information of the arrival of a French squadron of seven sail of the line at Rhode Island, under the command of M. de Ternay. Admiral Arbuthnot had at that time only four sail of the line, and in consequence was in daily expectation of an attack from the enemy. He was, however, shortly after relieved from these apprehensions by the opportune arrival of Admiral Graves with six sail of the line. He now prepared to become the assailant, and accordingly sailed for Rhode Island, intending to act as circumstances would admit. On his arrival off the island, he discovered that the enemy was in such force, that they had moored their fleet in a line extending from Rhode Island to the Conanicut shore, and had already put the fortifications in such a condition as to render an attack by sea utterly impracticable. But as the admiral " knew that the general wished to attack the French before they could get themselves firmly established at Newport, or be reinforced by their American allies, and that he had for this purpose a large body of men in readiness to embark, if he should see any probability of success, he communicated to him the observations which he had been able to make. Many unforeseen causes, however, arose, which retarded the arrival of the transports at Frog's Neck, where General Clinton intended to embark his troops; but

he was at last able to effect this on the 17th. So much time having been wasted, he perceived, with infinite regret, that his design of a *coup de main* would be impracticable. As soon as the troops were embarked, they were joined by the Amphitrite and Camilla, which took them under their convoy, and the whole sailed to Huntingdon Bay; where Sir Henry Clinton received such accounts of the enemy's position, and of the attention which they had paid to fortifying and rendering themselves secure, as obliged him to abandon his design*." The admiral therefore proceeded to Gardiner's Bay, at the east end of Long Island, where he continued to watch the enemy at Rhode Island, who did not dare to venture out of the harbour. The ensuing year opened very inauspiciously. Admiral Arbuthnot, wishing to reconnoitre the position of the French fleet at Newport, put to sea for that purpose. In the prosecution of this service he encountered a very severe storm, in which the Culloden was totally lost, the Bedford dismasted, and the America forced to sea, and did not rejoin the squadron for a fortnight. The news of this disaster soon reached the enemy, who, deriving fresh courage and confidence from the misfortune, meditated an attack on the British squadron in Gardiner's Bay†; but which they afterwards thought proper to abandon.

In the mean time, the success of General Arnold in Virginia gave very serious alarm to General Washington, who was obliged to detach a force of 2000 men for the relief of that province; and also proposed to the French admiral a plan for cutting off General Arnold and his detachment, and also the destruction of the British vessels in the Chesapeake. The French admiral, thinking this a favourable opportunity of atoning for his past inactivity, detached a 64-gun ship and two frigates for that purpose. As soon as Admiral Arbuthnot received intelligence of this movement, he dispatched a vessel to Charlestown, to order the Chatham, Roebuck, Romulus, and some frigates, to proceed to Virginia, to endeavour to cut off their return; but the short stay of the enemy prevented this from being effected. The enemy, however, determined to make the attempt on a larger scale; and having embarked 2000 troops, the whole of their squadron put to sea on the 8th March. The British admiral followed in pursuit on the 10th; and on the 16th, five sail were discovered steering for the capes of Virginia. As the admiral concluded that they were part of the Rhode Island squadron, he formed a line of battle ahead, a cable's length asunder, on a wind which was then fresh, and proceeded towards

* Beatson. † *Gazette Letter.*

them with a press of sail. At a quarter after eight, the wind veered to N. W. by W. and soon after to N. by W. which gave the enemy the weather-gage. About the same time, several of the enemy's ships were discovered to windward, manœuvring to form their line. At twenty minutes after nine, the headmost of the enemy's ships tacked, as did the rest in succession, and formed the line on the starboard tack. At a quarter after ten, Admiral Arbuthnot made the signal for the squadron to tack, the headmost and weathermost first, to gain the wind of the enemy. At a quarter after eleven, the headmost of the French line tacked; but one of them having missed stays, the rest wore, and formed the line on the larboard tack. At forty minutes after eleven, Admiral Arbuthnot reformed his line at a cable's length asunder; and at twelve o'clock, there being a prospect of his van reaching the enemy, the whole of the British line tacked by signal, the van first, and the leading ship continuing to lead on the other tack. At one o'clock, the enemy's squadron, consisting of seven sail of the line, having completed their form in a line ahead, bore E. by S.; the British line, of the same number, close hauled, steering E. S. E., wind at N. E. As the enemy were apprehensive of the danger and inconvenience of engaging to windward, from the high sea that was running, and squally weather, wore, and formed their line to leeward of the British squadron. At two o'clock, the van of the latter wore in the line, and in a few minutes the Robust, Captain Crosby, who behaved in the most gallant manner, was warmly engaged with the enemy. The ships in the van and centre of the line were all engaged by half-past two, and in half an hour the French line was broken; their ships soon began to wear, and to form the line again with their heads to the S. E. into the ocean. At twenty minutes after three, Admiral Arbuthnot wore and stood after them; but by that time the Robust, Prudent, Captain Burnet, and Europe, Captain Child, being the headmost ships, had received so much damage in their rigging (the two first unmanageable, lying with their heads from the enemy), as to be incapable of pursuit, and of rendering the advantage they had gained decisive. About half-past four, the haze, which had continued at intervals the whole day, came on so thick, as entirely to intercept the enemy's fleet from view. Admiral Arbuthnot having directed some frigates to observe the route of the enemy, proceeded with his squadron to the Chesapeake, in hopes of intercepting them, should they attempt to get in there, and on the following evening anchored in Lynn-Haven Bay.

This battle, like several others fought during the American war, became subject to much criticism: the admiral was not only severely censured for the manner in which he conducted it, but it was said, that if he had done his duty as became the commander of an English squadron, the French government would have been deterred from sending any other naval expedition to the assistance of the rebels. It is even asserted, that the enemy themselves were amazed at his manœuvres, and are reported to have said to some English officers whom they made prisoners, "You ought to have demolished us that day: we do not know how it is, but you do not fight as you used to do." The principal complaint appears to have been in his keeping the signal for the line flying during the whole of the engagement. He had the wind, and it was evident to every person on board the fleet, that the British squadron sailed better than the enemy's; and it appears pretty certain, that if he had made the signal for close action, and for each ship to bear down and engage the ship opposite to her in the enemy's line, that he would have gained a complete and glorious victory. We have not been able to meet with any argument or reason that was put forth in defence of the admiral's conduct; the presumption therefore is, although no public inquiry took place, that the complaint was well founded. It has, however, been asserted, that he was so busy in fighting his ship, that he forgot he was an admiral, and probably did not recollect what signal was at the mast-head. This we suppose is the best apology that can be made for him, although it is at the expense of his understanding. The battle was, however, productive of one benefit: the French admiral, instead of pursuing his course to Virginia, steered to the northward, and regained his former situation at Newport, leaving the British forces to follow up their successes. No other event of consequence occurred during the time Admiral Arbuthnot continued in the command of the squadron; and having received letters of recal, he sailed from New-York early in July, and on his arrival at Spithead, immediately struck his flag.

On the 24th September, 1787, he was advanced to be vice-admiral of the Red; and on the 1st February, 1793, to be admiral of the Blue. He died 31st January, 1794, at the advanced age of eighty-three years.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF ADMIRAL SIR EDWARD HUGHES.

ONE of the greatest incentives to exertion, not only in the navy, but in every other situation of life, is to be found in a due reward of merit: the greatest encouragement that any one can have to behave well is, to see that the highest honours of which their profession is capable are attainable by those whose abilities render them worthy of such desert, without requiring the assistance of high birth, illustrious pedigree, or great connections. Not that we wish to undervalue honours of that description wherever they exist, but with all due respect for hereditary rank, we cannot but consider that man as entitled to our highest praise who carves out honours for himself, who achieves the distinction he obtains by his own worth and talents, and who is at once the archetype of his own greatness. Such, in some degree, is the object of the present memoir, who was descended from a respectable family in Hertfordshire, of the principal city of which county his father is represented to have filled the offices of alderman and of mayor. But we have no account, on which we can rely, of the reasons which induced him to choose a seafaring life, at what age he first went to sea, or the ship in which he first sailed, though he is represented as having entered into the profession at a very early age. The notices, however, respecting him are both few and unimportant previous to 1740, when he was promoted by Admiral Vernon to the rank of lieutenant, for the merit he had displayed at the capture of Porto Bello. A long vacancy afterwards occurs in his history; a vacancy to which all who follow his profession are liable, and one in which it requires all the fortitude and all the zeal of which man is capable, to prevent him from leaving the service, either through disgust or despondency, arising from a want of opportunities to distinguish himself, and the consequent idea that he shall never rise in his profession.

In 1747, he sailed as a passenger on board the Warwick of 60 guns, for Louisbourg, having a strong recommendation to Commodore Knowles, who then commanded on that station. With the Warwick proceeded the Lark of 40 guns, having under their convoy the trade bound for

North America; and in their passage fell in with a Spanish 74-gun ship, which they brought to action, but owing to some mismanagement in making a joint attack, the Warwick, after fighting the enemy with the greatest bravery, was totally disabled, and the Spaniard seized that opportunity to escape.

On the arrival of the ships at Louisbourg, Commodore Knowles directed a court-martial to be held on the conduct of the captain of the Lark, who, being found guilty of the charges brought against him, was dismissed the service, and was succeeded by Mr. Hughes in the command of that ship, his commission being dated February 6, 1747-8, and which, on a representation of the whole of the circumstances being made to the Admiralty, was confirmed by their lordships.

Hostilities having ceased, Captain Hughes remained for some time unemployed; but on their recommencement in 1755, he solicited an active command, and was shortly after appointed to the Deal Castle, in which he proceeded on a cruise: Fortune, however, always fickle in her favours, does not appear to have been very propitious, as we do not find his name coupled with any event worthy of record during the time he held the command of that ship, except his having, in company with the Peregrine sloop, captured a ship from Martinique, valued at 6000*l*. In 1757, he removed to the Somerset of 64 guns. In this ship he formed one of the squadron under Admiral Boscawen on the American station; and in the attack on Louisbourg, though the naval part of the expedition had few opportunities to display that zeal and courage which a sense of danger and difficulty naturally draws forth, Captain Hughes failed not to add to that reputation which he had already acquired; and which was still farther increased in the following year, during the siege of Quebec, on which occasion he served under that great patron and promoter of merit, Sir Charles Saunders, who shortly after hoisted his flag on board the Somerset, and returned with part of the squadron to England. In the following year, Sir Charles proceeded as commander-in-chief to the Mediterranean, when Captain Hughes accompanied him to that station, where he continued during the remainder of the war.

In 1770, when the dispute existed with Spain relative to the Falkland Islands, and it was considered necessary to equip a force sufficient to maintain the honour of the country, Captain Hughes was again commissioned to the Somerset; and although the necessity which then existed for fitting out an armament passed off without calling it into ac-

tion, Captain Hughes retained the command of the Somerset for three years. He had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him in October 1773, and was at the same time appointed to the chief command in the East Indies; that station, which afterwards proved the scene of several hard-fought actions, which, though they terminated without decreasing the number of the enemy's fleet, most certainly considerably increased that galaxy of British glory, which, as we have already stated, is of greater importance to the country, than adding a few ships to her navy.

Having hoisted a broad pendant, he proceeded thither on board the Salisbury of 50 guns: but though war was at that time raging in the West, the East was reposing in peace; a steady calm existed both at sea and on shore: so that during the time he held his first command on that station, the usual period of three years, we meet with no occurrence material enough to demand our attention.

On the 23d January, 1778, he was promoted to a flag, being made rear-admiral of the Blue. In December following he was invested with the honourable Order of the Bath, and shortly after reappointed to the chief command in the Indian seas. On this occasion he hoisted his flag on board the Superb of 74 guns, having also under his orders the Burford of 70 guns, with the Exeter, the Eagle, the Bellisle, and the Worcester, of 64 guns. On his arrival on the coast of Africa, he found that a French force, under the Marquis de Vaudreuil, had captured the Island of Goree, made the garrison prisoners of war, and were about demolishing the works: the appearance, however, of the British squadron put an end to that design; and on some troops being landed, the enemy surrendered at discretion. Having put the place in a situation to defend itself against any other attack, he proceeded to his ulterior destination; and though, at the period of his reappointment, active operations were carrying on, still, on his arrival, the enemy's forces were so much reduced, that little remained for him to effect: he therefore ordered three ships of the line to proceed to England with Sir Edward Vernon, having no use for them at that period.

In the month of September 1780, he was raised to the rank of vice-admiral of the Blue; and on the 8th December, being with his squadron off Mangalore, the principal seaport of Hyder Ali on the Malabar coast, he saw two ships, a large snow, three ketches, and many small vessels, at anchor in the road, with Hyder Ali's colours flying on board them. He immediately stood into the road, and finding them to be vessels of

force, and all armed, anchored as close to them as the depth of water would allow, and ordered the boats of the squadron to attack and destroy them, under cover of the fire of two armed snows of the Company's service. This service was conducted with the usual spirit and activity of British seamen, and in two hours they took and burnt two ships, one of 28, the other of 26 guns; one ketch of 12 was blown up by the enemy at the instant the boats were boarding her; another ketch of 10 guns, which cut her cables, and endeavoured to put to sea, was taken; and the third, with the smaller vessels, were forced on shore; the snow only escaping into the harbour, after having thrown every thing overboard to lighten her. Thus did he nip in the bud the hopes entertained by that warlike and ambitious prince of becoming a formidable maritime power. In the month of November in the following year, in conjunction with Sir Hector Munro, he attacked the Dutch settlement of Negapatam, and though defended by a garrison of 8000 men (the principal of whom being natives), the operations were carried on with such vigour on shore, and the place pressed so closely by sea, that the enemy had no alternative but to surrender. This being accomplished, preparations were made for the reduction of Trincomalé. Sir Edward having been supplied with a detachment of 500 troops, arrived in the bay on the 5th January, 1782; the troops, marines of the squadron, and a battalion of seamen, were landed under the command of Captain Gell of the Monarca; and in the course of the evening, the seamen and marines, without attention to regular forms, approached Trincomalé fort, forced their way through, and made themselves masters of the place. The enemy's remaining force was collected at Fort Osnaburg, situated on the top of a high hill that commanded the harbour, and by which an open communication was kept with the shipping. A strong post having been carried within 200 yards of the fort, Sir Edward, actuated by the purest motives of humanity, wrote to the governor, urging him in the strongest manner to capitulate, pointing out to him the great superiority of force which he possessed, and the little probability there was of his being able to make a successful defence. The governor, however, thought fit to refuse the offer thus made to him, and expressed his determination to defend the place to the last extremity. But Sir Edward, being still unwilling to shed unnecessarily a drop of human blood, and being, moreover, actuated by a sense of private friendship for the governor, as well as several other persons in the place, wrote a second letter to him on the subject, and expostulated with him in the

most kind and friendly terms: this, however, had not the desired effect; his orders to defend the place were too strict; but he expressed himself fully sensible of the purity of Sir Edward's motives, and styled him the "generous, brave, and illustrious Sir Edward Hughes." The necessary dispositions for storming the lower fort being completed, the attack commenced on the 11th January, and was attended with the most decisive success, being followed by the immediate surrender of all the ships and vessels in the harbour. The bravery and activity which the troops displayed during the contest were equalled only by the humanity they evinced after victory had crowned their exertions. This was the second blow given to the Dutch in the East Indies by Sir Edward Hughes, and was severely felt in Holland. The squadron being in want of provisions and stores, Sir Edward, after leaving a garrison in the fort, sailed for Madras on the 31st January.

Hitherto the British admiral had continued undisturbed master of the Indian seas: at last, however, the French government began to form designs, not only to recover possession of her former settlements in that hemisphere, and also her former influence with the princes of the country, but to dispossess her ancient rival of all her power and greatness arising from her acquisitions in that quarter; and nothing could be more favourable to the success of this vast plan, than the existing state of affairs on that continent. The treasures of the British East India Company were almost exhausted; the strength of their military force was greatly diminished; and besides being involved in a dangerous, bloody, and expensive war with Hyder Ali and the Marhattas, it most unfortunately happened, that most of the other states in India were, through various causes, either avowedly or secretly hostile to the British interests*. She accordingly spared no expense, and encountered every danger, to avail herself of so fair an opportunity to accomplish her purpose. Nor in this view did she lose sight of the great advantage which she reaped from the extended and hitherto unsuccessful war which Britain carried on in Europe, America, and the West Indies. This immense range of deeply interesting operations she hoped would so completely occupy the attention, and exhaust the resources, of her rival, as to prevent her from being able to send abroad forces sufficient to defend her possessions in Asia. While therefore she steadily followed up her ambitious progress in Ame-

* Beatson

rica and the West Indies, she persevered with unremitting assiduity in sending out abundance of men, ships, stores, and artillery, to the East, under the command of M. Suffrein, one of the most able officers the French navy ever produced, and who entered those seas with the most confident expectations of obtaining an easy victory over the small squadron under Sir Edward Hughes.

Sir Edward Hughes having anchored in Madras road on the 8th of February, was informed on the same day by Lord Macartney, that a French squadron, consisting of thirty sail, eleven of which were of the line, had arrived on the coast, and was about twenty leagues to the northward of that port. At this time Sir Edward had with him only six sail of the line, exposed in an open road to the attack of a superior enemy. In this critical and alarming situation, he was most fortunately joined on the following day by the Hero of 74 guns, the Monmouth of 64, and the Isis of 50; an addition of force, which not only increased his strength, but diffused the utmost spirits among the crews. Every possible exertion was used to get on board the necessary stores and provisions; but before it was completed, the enemy was discovered in the offing about noon on the 15th, and appeared to be standing directly for Madras roads, but suddenly came to an anchor about four miles without. In the mean time Sir Edward exerted himself in placing the squadron in the most advantageous manner, to give the enemy a warm reception; and no doubt was entertained, had they carried their design into execution, that the 15th of February would have been renowned in the naval annals of Britain: M. Suffrein, however, did not make the attempt, but, about four in the afternoon, weighed, and stood to the northward. The cause of his thus abandoning his prey when he thought he had it in his power, appears to have arisen from his ignorance of the reinforcements which had reached the British squadron on the 9th; he entertained the most confident expectations that he should signalize his arrival in India by the complete destruction of his rival's power: his mortification was therefore extreme. As soon as Sir Edward perceived the enemy were under sail, he made the signal to weigh, and stood after them, and continued under easy sail all that night. In the morning it was discovered that the enemy had separated, the line-of-battle ships and a frigate steering east, and ten sail of frigates and transports bearing away for Pondicherry. Sir Edward immediately pursued the latter, entertaining no doubt that M. Suffrein would follow with his whole force;

but before he could render any assistance, six of the convoy were in the possession of the British admiral. More would have been captured had Sir Edward been supplied with frigates, or had not the near approach of the enemy's fleet obliged him to recal his chasing ships.

At daylight in the morning of the 17th, the two fleets were about three leagues apart, the enemy to windward. About six in the morning, Sir Edward made the signal for a line ahead, which being with difficulty accomplished, owing to the want of wind, he made sail with the intention of weathering the enemy, who had the advantage of the squalls; but finding this impracticable, he altered his course two points to leeward, the enemy then steering down for the rear of the British line, in an irregular double line abreast. At half-past twelve, he made the signal for the squadron to form a line of battle abreast, in order to draw the rear of his line closer to the centre, and prevent the enemy from breaking in on it, and attacking it when separated; but finding it impossible to avoid the enemy's attack, under all the disadvantages of little or no wind to work the ships, and of being to leeward of them, at half-past three he made the signal for the squadron to form at once into the line of battle ahead. At four o'clock, M. Suffrein, favoured by a squall of wind, bore down on the rear and part of the centre of the British line, while the van lay almost motionless, and unable to render them any assistance. By this mode of attack the enemy had eight ships to contend against five. The action, however, was maintained against such fearful odds with the usual firmness and intrepidity of British seamen till six o'clock, when a sudden squall favoured the British ships; shortly after which the enemy hauled their wind, and stood to the north-east. Though the enemy had suffered severely, the state of some of the ships of the British squadron would not allow Sir Edward to follow them; he therefore proceeded to Trincomalé to refit. This having been accomplished, he sailed again on the 4th of March; and on the 30th was joined by the Sultan and Magnanime from England; but having had a long passage, their crews were greatly reduced by the scurvy. Sir Edward, having a reinforcement of troops and stores from Madras for Trincomalé, was proceeding thither, when, on the 8th April, he obtained sight of the enemy's squadron, consisting of twelve sail of the line. Sir Edward, however, continued his course, and having made the coast of Ceylon on the 11th, about 15 leagues to windward of Trincomalé, he bore away for that place. This change gave the enemy the opportunity of gaining the wind in the

night, and on the following morning they were seen crowding all sail in chase. Sir Edward immediately formed a line of battle ahead, and after some time spent in manœuvring on both sides, about a quarter past twelve the enemy bore down to engage; five of their van ships stretching along to attack the van of the British line, and the other seven sail steering directly for the centre ships. M. Suffrein in the Hero, and his second astern, bore down on the Superb, Sir Edward's flag-ship, within pistol-shot, and continued in that position, giving and receiving a most tremendous fire, for the space of a quarter of an hour, during which he received so much damage, that he stood on, followed by the ships in his rear. In this state the action continued with great fury till near four o'clock, when the wind still continuing unfavourable, and being careful not to entangle the ships with the shore to leeward, Sir Edward made the signal for the squadron to wear, and haul their wind in a line of battle ahead on the larboard tack, still engaging the enemy. At forty minutes past five, being in fifteen fathom water, and apprehensive lest the Monmouth, which was totally disabled, might drift too near the shore, he made the signal to prepare to anchor. The action, however, continued an hour longer, when the enemy drew off in great confusion, the firing ceased, and the squadron came to an anchor. In this attack, the French admiral directed his efforts principally against the centre of the British line, more particularly the flag-ship, and persevered in it with such resolution, that it appeared to be his determination to carry her at all events. He, however, met with a reception due to the valour he displayed, and in the end was obliged to shift his flag from the Hero to the Hannibal, in consequence of the damage she had received. Independent of the crippled state of some of the ships, the loss of lives was considerable, amounting to 137 killed, and 430 wounded, of whom 59 of the former, and 96 of the latter, belonged to the Superb. Both fleets continued at anchor within sight of each other for five days, which sufficiently indicated their incapacity to renew the engagement: during this time they were busily employed in placing their respective ships in condition to contend for the dominion of the sea. On the 19th, the enemy was observed getting under weigh, and shortly after stood out to sea, close hauled. At noon they tacked with the sea breeze, and stood directly in for the British squadron, as if they intended an immediate attack; but perceiving the admirable dispositions made by the British admiral, they again tacked, and stood away to the eastward. Sir Edward

immediately proceeded to Trincomalé, where he arrived on the 22d, and landed the troops and stores destined for the garrison, refitted such ships as were still in want of repairs, and sailed again on the 23d June for Negapatam road, in quest of the enemy*.

About one o'clock on the 5th July, the enemy's squadron again appeared in sight; when Sir Edward instantly got under weigh, and stood to the southward the whole of that evening and ensuing night, in order to obtain the wind of the enemy. On the following morning they were discovered at anchor, bearing N. N. E Sir Edward having made the signal for a line of battle abreast, bore away towards the enemy, who weighed, and formed their line of battle, standing to the westward; upon which Sir Edward hauled down the signal for a line abreast, and hoisted that for a line ahead. This being accomplished, was immediately followed by the signal for each ship to bear down directly upon her opposite in the French line, and bring her to close action. These orders were most punctually obeyed, and from ten minutes past eleven to thirty-five minutes past twelve, the action was general from van to rear. At the end of that time, the van ship of the enemy was beat out of the line, their admiral's second ahead had lost her main-mast, several others had suffered considerably, some were running away, and their whole line was in the greatest confusion. At this critical moment, when the British admiral expected his efforts would be crowned with the capture of several of the enemy's ships, the sea breeze setting in with unusual violence, changed the relative position of both squadrons; several of the van and centre ships of the British fleet were taken aback and paid round on their heels, with their heads the contrary way, while those in the rear continued on their former tack. In this extremity, Sir Edward was obliged to haul down the signal for the line, and throw out another to wear, intending to follow it up with the signal for a general chase, and to renew the action, but finding two of his ships quite ungovernable, he made the signal to wear only: the action partially continued till half-past four, when he hauled down the signal for the line of battle, and at half-past five came to anchor off Negapatam; while the French squadron anchored about three leagues to leeward.

* Mr. Charnock, in his *Biographia Navalis*, has here fallen into a great mistake. After describing the movements of the British squadron to the 23d June, he says, "during the remainder of the year, no encounter took place;" entirely omitting the actions fought on the 5th July and 3d September.

The utmost exertions were now used to refit the squadron, in hopes of being able to bring the enemy again to action; but notwithstanding all the endeavours of both officers and men, this measure was found impracticable; and about nine o'clock on the following morning, the enemy set sail, and proceeded to Cuddalore. Just at the moment when the sudden change of the wind took place, one of the enemy's ships fell along side the Sultan, and, unable to stand her tremendous fire, struck her colours; but while the latter ship was in the act of wearing, she hoisted as much sail as possible, raked the Sultan in passing, and stood away for the body of the French fleet. The next day Sir Edward sent Captain Watt of the Sultan to M. Suffrein, to demand her as his lawful prize: the French admiral, however, refused his compliance, alleging as his reason, that the colours were not intentionally struck, but that they came down with the halliards on their being shot away. In this action the English squadron had 77 men killed and 233 wounded.

Finding it impossible to put the squadron in a state of repair in Negapatam roads, and as they were likewise in want of provisions and ammunition, Sir Edward found it necessary to proceed to Madras roads, where he arrived on the 20th July, and was joined by the Sceptre man of war, belonging to a reinforcement long expected from England, under Sir Richard Bickerton. The squadron having undergone the necessary repairs, sailed for Trincomalé on the 20th August, with the double intention of protecting that place from any attack of the enemy, and of covering the arrival of the force under Sir Richard Bickerton. The utmost exertions were made to reach that harbour, but owing to the wind blowing so strong from the southward, he did not arrive there till the night of the 2d September. On the following morning, it was discovered, with the utmost surprise and astonishment, that the enemy were in possession of the place; and that their fleet, of fifteen sail of the line (having been joined by three sail from Europe), was at anchor in the bay; but which, upon the appearance of the British squadron, got under sail, and stood to the south-east, the wind blowing to the south-west, by which they obtained the weather-gage. Notwithstanding the decided superiority of the enemy, the spirit of the seamen was such, that Sir Edward immediately made the signal for a line of battle ahead, shortened sail, and edged away from the wind, in order that the ships might the more readily get into their respective stations. At twenty minutes past eight, the enemy began to edge down towards the British squadron. Sir Edward

Hughes, in order to render the battle decisive, considered it necessary to draw the enemy as far as possible from Trincomalé: he therefore stood away before the wind from the shore under his top-sails till half-past eleven. During the whole of this time, the enemy evinced the greatest indecision, sometimes edging down as if they intended to come to action, and then bringing to, without any order or regularity. About noon, M. Suffrein, having formed his resolution to engage, bore down on the British line. The action, however, did not commence till half-past two, and in five minutes afterwards, was general from van to rear. The superior number of the enemy's ships gave them great advantages, which the naval abilities of their commander fully availed himself of, directing their additional number against the van and rear ships of the British squadron, and maintaining the attack with their accustomed impetuosity. In the centre, the rival admirals were opposed to each other, and the desire of superiority stimulated them to the utmost exertions. The cannonade was incessant, and about three o'clock the effects became apparent, the French admiral's second astern having lost her mizen-mast, and his second ahead, her fore and mizen-top-masts. The battle, however, still continued to rage with great fury till half-past five, when the sudden shifting of the wind obliged Sir Edward to make the signal for the fleet to wear, which they instantly did in the most admirable order and regularity; the enemy either performing the same evolution, or staying until their opponents could renew the action on the contrary tack, which they did with the greatest vigour and alacrity. At twenty minutes past six, the French admiral's main-mast was shot away by the board, and soon after his mizen-mast shared the same fate. Several of the English ships were also greatly damaged: the Exeter, the leading ship, had been beat out of the line; and the Worcester, the rearmost, had lost her main-top-mast. The firing now began to slacken, and about seven o'clock the enemy hauled their wind to the southward, but became exposed to a severe and galling fire from the British ships in the rear for about twenty minutes, when the action entirely ceased, leaving the British squadron in too crippled a state to attempt any pursuit. Sir Edward, therefore, returned to Madras roads; while the enemy steered for Trincomalé; but such was their hurry, that in entering the harbour, the L'Orient of 74 guns ran ashore and was entirely lost. The loss sustained in this contest was but small, considering the length and violence with which it was maintained. The killed amounted to 51, and the

wounded to 283; but amongst the former were three captains*, whose loss was severely felt. The loss of Trincomalé was now experienced; the monsoon season was fast approaching, and there was no port on the Coromandel coast in which he could lie with safety. Sir Edward, therefore, bore away for Madras, in order to give the line-of-battle ships such repair as would enable them to proceed to Bombay. The weather had for some time appeared very threatening, and before he could accomplish his object, the squadron became exposed to the most imminent danger from a violent gale of wind, which, had it not blown from the shore, would have been attended with the destruction of the whole squadron. The road, which was full of shipping, was clear in a few hours; the squadron parted from their cables, and put to sea. Several vessels either sunk at their anchors, or were dashed to pieces on the shore, which for several miles was covered with wrecks, the dead and the dying. Sir Edward now pushed for Bombay, but on his passage experienced a series of the most tempestuous weather: for several weeks no intercourse was practicable between the ships of the squadron. The Superb was dismasted, and the Exeter was nearly a wreck. In order to facilitate the equipment of the squadron, the Monmouth, Hero, and Sceptre were left at Goa to refit, while Sir Edward proceeded to Bombay, where he was afterwards joined by Sir Richard Bickerton with five sail of the line; and from the reinforcement of stores and ammunition which they had brought, the refitting of the squadron proceeded with the greatest activity, and the most sanguine hopes were entertained, from the increased strength with which they should be able to proceed to sea in the following season. This being accomplished, the squadron sailed on the 20th March for the Coromandel coast; and General Stuart, having resolved to attack Cuddalore, Sir Edward, in order to facilitate the operations, left the Isis of 50 guns and three frigates to cover him in his approaches, and to prevent any supplies being thrown into the place; whilst he proceeded in search of the enemy's fleet, which he found in Trincomalé harbour, but after reconnoitring their position, discovered it too strong to be attacked with any probability of success: he, therefore, returned to the southward of Cuddalore, where he continued to cruise till the 9th June, when several ships being in want of a supply of water, he anchored at Porto Novo for that purpose: but neither there nor at Tranquebar could he obtain a drop; the enemy being in possession of both banks of the river at the former place, and at the latter the wells were dried up.

* Wood, Watt, and Lumley.

This was not the only mortification the admiral experienced in his laudable endeavours to defeat the enemies of his country. Although the ships' crews were perfectly healthy on leaving Madras, the scurvy now began to make dreadful havoc amongst them; 650 men, being in the last stage of the disorder, were sent at one time to the hospital at Madras; notwithstanding which, in the course of a fortnight longer, the least affected ships had from seventy to eighty men unfit for duty, and some had more than double that number. The squadron was in this state when M. Suffrein made his appearance on the 13th June. Sir Edward immediately got under sail with his squadron, and dropped down to about five miles from Cuddalore, where he anchored; the enemy doing the same off the mouth of the Coleroon river, distant about seven leagues, to the southward and windward of the British squadron. On the 17th the enemy was again under sail, and bore down towards the British squadron; when Sir Edward weighed with his fleet, and formed it into a line-of-battle to receive them; upon which the enemy hauled their wind and stood to the southward, followed by their opponents. From this time to the 20th various manœuvres were made by Sir Edward Hughes and M. Suffrein; the former endeavouring, by every method in his power, to obtain the weathergage; and the latter using his utmost exertions to prevent him, and in which, from the extraordinary variableness of the wind, he was enabled to succeed. On the 20th the enemy appeared determined to engage, and Sir Edward brought to his squadron to receive them. About four o'clock the van ship of the enemy fired a gun, to try her distance; and though scarcely within point-blank shot, their whole line began firing, which continued for about twenty minutes before a single shot was returned from the British squadron. At that time a heavy fire ensued, and was continued on both sides without intermission till seven o'clock, during the whole of which time the enemy still preserved their distance: at that hour they hauled their wind and made off, and on the following morning were out of sight. Thus ended the fifth and last battle fought by Sir Edward Hughes in the East Indies. On the return of the squadron to Madras roads, information was received that preliminaries of peace had been signed, upon which all hostilities ceased; and Sir Edward shortly after returned to England, and was honoured with the thanks of Parliament for his brave and judicious conduct. On the 1st February, 1793, he was made admiral of the Blue. He died at his seat at Luxbourg in Essex, on the 17th February, 1794.

It unfortunately too frequently happens, that persons estimate the merits and abilities of an officer from the success which attends his exertions, and not from just and real motives. Success, however, in our opinion, is not a just criterion of merit: circumstances may arise in battle which lead to a favourable termination of the contest, without belonging to the plan of operations intended to produce it. But without going further into this part of the subject, we may cite the example of Sir Edward Hughes, his conduct in the East Indies, his battles with Suffrein, as sufficient proofs, that the most heroic courage, the utmost professional knowledge, the greatest devotion to his country, joined to unbounded zeal in her cause, may be thwarted by circumstances over which they have no controul. The first proof of courage is to look at danger with a dauntless eye; and the next, to combat it with a dauntless heart. If, in the discharge of his duty, a commander makes this principle manifest by his conduct, posterity will do justice to his character, whatever may be the success attending his exertions; and the honest historian will not fail to render a tribute to his reputation. Of this we have the fullest evidence in the opinion of all authors who have written on the transactions in the Indian seas during the latter part of the first American war; and as no people are more susceptible than the English of the mortification arising from a defeat of any part of their national forces, or any check which they sustain*, so no country produces more individuals who take upon themselves to criticize their conduct, and censure acts which they do not approve. In the absence therefore of all blame, we should consider it sufficient to pronounce him an able and meritorious officer; but happily this negative sort of praise is supported by the most unequivocal affirmative testimony in the opinion of those writers to whom we

* This in some measure is a fortunate circumstance; it tends to keep alive those national feelings of superiority and jealousy, which have been among the principal causes of her greatness. If the people become indifferent to national glory, if they sustain defeats or reverses with indifference, if they suffer others to interfere with their interests with impunity, if they do not exert themselves to the utmost to maintain the national character and that commanding situation which they have hitherto held, if they tamely suffer others to rob them of those honours which have cost them years of sufferings and privation to acquire, or submit without a struggle to a contravention of that line of policy for which it has been their pride to contend, then may her ruin be pronounced near at hand; then will the eyes of the European powers be turned towards her, in order to discover by what means her degradation may be converted to the advantage of themselves.

have alluded, and which we shall now insert without another observation, lest it may tend to weaken their effect.

" Although neither of these actions were decisive in favour of the British, yet all of them were of very great importance to them in their consequences. It was no secret that France had, at an immense expense, been long collecting at the Islands of Mauritius and Bourbon a very great land and naval force; and all India was in expectation of the mighty blow which she was now to strike, and which it was supposed would be so heavy, that it would prove fatal to the British interests in that quarter of the globe. It was in expectation of this powerful aid that Hyder Ali first ventured to invade the Carnatic; and it was upon the same principle that, notwithstanding his repeated defeats, he still rejected every overture that could be made tending to an accommodation. A naval force sufficient to crush that of the British was, excepting some artillery and engineers, probably all the aid which he wished for from France. He had too much sagacity and penetration to place any great confidence in the services of the French, or indeed of any European in India, as he was certain that their own interests would always preponderate. Their military knowledge and skill were all that he valued, for he was too much of a politician to desire that France, or any other European nation, should possess any territory whatever in the country. He was peculiarly solicitous that the British resources by sea should be cut off, and when that was done, he knew that every thing would be at his own disposal. The long delay of France in fulfilling her engagements had, in a great measure, exhausted the patience of Hyder Ali, while, in the mean time, he was alone exposed to all the rigour of a most dangerous war. But how great must have been his disappointment, and how vast must have been the astonishment of all India, when they beheld all the boastings of the French rendered nugatory, after they had come upon the coast of Coromandel with a naval force so vastly superior to that of the British, that any resistance they could make to it was regarded as fruitless! How must they have been appalled, when they saw that this great armament of France, in which all their hopes were centred, after discovering the fleet of Britain at anchor in an open road, without any fort to afford them aid or protection, durst not venture to attack them, but drew off and came to an anchor, and after pausing a few hours, weighed again and retreated! How deep must have been their dismay, when, to complete the disgrace of those allies who had raised their expectations so high,

they saw them pursued by the British fleet, most of their convoy taken, having on board the artillery destined for Hyder Ali; and their squadron brought to an action, in which they were so severely handled, that if the weather had not come so much in their favour, the claim of victory would not have been left undecided, but would in all probability have been decided against them! Nothing could have more strongly impressed the minds of the Indian princes and natives with a conviction of the vast superiority of the British in all naval affairs, as well as of their invincible courage and fortitude, than these events. They must have recalled to their memory the battles which the gallant Pocock fought against a very superior French fleet under Count d'Aché, whom he compelled to quit the Indian seas. The behaviour of his French allies on this occasion must have been a grievous mortification to Hyder Ali, who now saw that all his splendid hopes of taking Madras, of deposing the Nabob of Arcot, and of putting his son Tippoo Saib in possession of the Carnatic, were as remote and uncertain as ever*."

" It was highly to the honour of the British commanders, that in all the battles fought in the Indian seas, though they had uniformly to contend against a superiority of force, and the elements were for the most part unfriendly to their endeavours; yet under all these disadvantageous circumstances, the contagious breath of slander had not been able to leave the smallest soil on their character, or of censure on the behaviour of any one of them: on the contrary, in all the severe conflicts to which they had been exposed, each was acknowledged to have done every thing that could possibly be expected from brave and experienced officers†."

" Four battles were fought between Sir Edward Hughes and M. Suffrein in the space of seven months. In the course of no year, during this or any preceding war, did two naval commanders meet so frequently in fight at the head of the same squadrons. Never had so signal and obstinate a competition for the mastery of the Indian ocean been exhibited between any two nations, as that which then subsisted between the English and the French. Those ancient rivals contended for empire in India with no less eagerness than they did in Europe. They seemed indeed to consider that part of the globe as that wherein their honour and interests were peculiarly at stake, from the prodigious commercial benefits that would accrue to those who should remain masters of it.

* Beatson. † Ibid.

The greatness of the objects which they had respectively in view animated them both in the most violent degree; and their reciprocal efforts were principally directed, as far as distance and other circumstances would permit, to this vast and complicated scene of action*."

" But these actions, though indecisive in regard to the respective squadrons, were, however, convincing proofs of the naval superiority of the British officers and seamen. They withstood a superior force, commanded by one of the most resolute men in France, and one who was known to harbour particular enmity to the English. He displayed uncommon courage in all the engagements, and exhibited himself in such a manner, as shewed him no less an able commander than a determined foe: yet his failure was complete, and he reaped no other benefit than the acquisition of much personal reputation†."

" Indecisive as this engagement (fought on the 17th April, 1782,) may appear, its consequences were of the greatest importance to the stability of the British empire in India. The French had been for years preparing this armament at a vast expense, and had formed the most flattering prospects of success. Its arrival in India was regarded by the enemies of the British government in that quarter, as the final period of our power on the coast of Coromandel; upon its assistance Hyder Ali had formed the strongest hopes of our expulsion; and the French came in full confidence of a complete victory. We can scarcely regard that as a drawn battle which was the means of disappointing their mighty expectations, and of defeating a project which threatened our political existence in India. The governor-general and council of Bengal, in their letter of congratulation to Sir Edward Hughes on this occasion, make use of the following forcible expressions, which, when we consider their rank, and the opportunities they had of judging of the extent of the danger which threatened them, will convey a strong idea of the value of our admiral's services: ' We regard,' say they, ' your action with the French fleet as the crisis of our fate in the Carnatic; and in the result of it, we see that province relieved and preserved, and the permanency of the British power in India firmly established.' In another part of the letter they say, ' A proof so unequivocal of the superior courage and discipline of the officers and men under your command, and of their confidence in their leader, must excite in the minds of all the powers in India, a confirmed opinion of the unrivalled military character of the

* Andrews. † Ibid.

British nation.'—The governor and council of Madras addressed the admiral in terms equally flattering. ' The very masterly and spirited manner,' they say, ' in which you bore down upon the French fleet at your departure from these roads, claimed at that time our warmest thanks; and we now most sincerely congratulate you on the new honour which the British flag has acquired by the courage and conduct so eminently displayed by you in the late combat against such superior numbers.'

" In the course of less than twelve months Sir Edward Hughes was four times engaged with a force considerably superior to his own in numbers, and commanded by an officer of as great skill and courage as any whom his nation ever produced: yet under these disadvantages, he maintained the honour of the British character for naval pre-eminence unsullied; and if he gained no decided victories, or signalized himself by no extensive defeat of the enemy, the services which he performed for his country were substantial rather than splendid, solid rather than brilliant. The severe encounters in which Sir Edward Hughes and M. Suffrein engaged, bring to our recollection the still more terrible conflicts which took place towards the latter end of the seventeenth century between the English and Dutch in the North Seas. Both parties entered into combat with equal resolution, and fought with equal obstinacy. During the late wars, some splendid victories were gained without much expense of human life, at least on the part of the British: the ship which suffered most severely in the glorious action of the 1st of June, the Brunswick, Captain J. Hervey, had 44 killed; whilst Sir Edward Hughes's ship lost in the battle of the 12th April 59 men; and in the course of little more than seven months, he had on board his own ship 81 men killed, and 192 wounded; a loss which it would be difficult to find a parallel to in modern times*."

" It was one of the characteristics of Sir Edward Hughes, that he was not only brave to an excess in action, and at the same time cool, considerate, and collected, but that where it was necessary, he entered into all the minutiæ of the service, and afforded to every one under his command an excellent example of attention to the duties of his station, and regard to the honour of his country. The splendour of heroic achievements spreads a lustre around them, which often prevents us from bestowing a due portion of praise on the prudence, foresight, and cautious vigilance of a commander; but these are qualities not less requisite than

* *Naval Chronicle.*

courage to the composition of a real hero, and these Sir Edward Hughes possessed in a conspicuous degree*."

Mr. Charnock sums up his character as follows:

"As to his services, they stand on record, and from their nature, require not the assistance of either panegyric or praise: we shall therefore content ourselves with saying, that after acquiring a most princely fortune in India, he returned to his native country, neither arrogant on account of his wealth, nor presuming on his worldly prosperity, but retaining to the last moment of his life a benevolence which proved him truly worthy of the riches he had acquired, and which he appeared ever ready to distribute on all proper occasions (unlike some persons who have acquired fortunes in the same quarter, and have afterwards been only distinguished for their meanness or prodigality), as though he considered himself only the almoner of others wealth, and not the possessor of his own."

* *Naval Chronicle.*

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL GEORGE DARBY.

THE extended range of biography, like the face of the terraqueous globe, presents to our view tracts and incidents which are of a diversified nature, some of which are distinguished for their fertility and resources, and others for their barrenness and sterility. Upon a man struggling against perils, contemning dangers, generously risking his life in defence of his king, and by a display of courage and genius, and that thirst for glory which is the predominant passion of heroic minds, triumphing over all opposition, and increasing the honour of his country, the eye dwells with as much pleasure and satisfaction as on those diversified prospects in nature which cheer by their beauty, and astonish by their grandeur. But from the memoirs of those individuals who have had no opportunity of signalizing their valour, or achieving brilliant actions, the description of which inspires us with emulation and a desire to imitate them, the eye turns with the same indifference and inattention as it manifests at the sight of a trackless desert, in which there is nothing to please the fancy, or instruct the understanding. There are, however, some individuals who pass through life without acquiring either fame or reputation, though from their talents and abilities they may have great claim to both; and if the memoirs of Admiral Darby present few circumstances that are satisfactory to the patriotic recollection of Britons, the fault, if any, did not lie with him: he was destined to act at a period, and under circumstances, which we now look back to, as the traveller views from a distance the tremendous precipice he has passed, or as the seaman contemplates the boisterous ocean from which he has narrowly escaped shipwreck. It is, however, with nations as with individuals; and "there is no circumstance the generous mind dwells on with more complacency than that of a brave man, who, contending with difficulties apparently insurmountable, finds a resource in his own courage and perseverance, which, increasing with the danger that surrounds him, rises superior to all obstacles, and finally renders the very inequality of force that threatened his destruction, only an honourable addition to his triumph and exalta-

tion." Wasted and weakened by a rebellion in her colonies, divided at home, and surrounded with enemies, without an ally to assist her, England at that period presented to the world a spectacle of grandeur and humiliation, for which no parallel is to be found in history: yet did she make so gallant a resistance, she faced her enemies with such vigour, such undaunted resolution and courage, that though her successes were not great, and rather negative in their nature, her losses were much less than might have been expected, and she came out of the contest with increased honour and reputation.

Of the family connections of Admiral Darby, his education, or the early tendency of his mind, we know nothing; and his services at the commencement of his career do not appear to have been of that description which entitle them to transmission. But as we are not aware that he possessed any particular influence, we are inclined to believe that, as his promotion was steady and uniform, he invariably conducted himself to the entire satisfaction of his superiors, and that he was solely indebted to his talents and perseverance for his advancement in the service. He was promoted to post-rank on the 12th September, 1747; but as the war continued but a short time after that event, he of course had no opportunity to display his character, and that devotion to his country which he evinced in a later period of his life. Shortly after the breaking out of the war with France in 1755, he was appointed to the Norwich of 50 guns; but the only circumstance of consequence with which we find his name connected whilst he commanded that ship, is the bombardment of Havre de Grace, when acting under the orders of Admiral Rodney. In the following year he removed into the Devonshire of 66 guns, and convoyed the outward-bound merchant-ships to North America, where he joined the squadron under Lord Colville. In 1761, he proceeded to the West Indies, taking with him the reinforcements for Admiral Rodney, previous to his attack on the enemy's colonies; in which latter service he fully participated. After the termination of the campaign, he was sent to England with the dispatches containing the account of the success of the expedition; and on his arrival he was most graciously received by his Majesty, who presented him with five hundred pounds for the purpose of buying a sword. After which, he does not appear to have been again employed till his promotion to a flag, which occurred on the 23d January, 1778, when he was made rear-admiral of the White; and on the 19th March, 1779, he was further advanced

to be vice-admiral of the Blue, hoisting his flag on board the Britannia, in which he served as second in command of the Channel fleet under Sir Charles Hardy. We have already alluded to the difficulty experienced at that period in finding proper officers to undertake the important command of the Channel fleet, which was more particularly experienced on the resignation of Admiral Geary, an event which occurred in August 1780. It having been declined by Admiral Barrington, it was offered to, and accepted by, Admiral Darby; who, though he would not, from existing circumstances and his standing in the service, have solicited such a mark of confidence, did not think proper to decline it when offered; and however arduous and difficult the situation might have been, from the unfavourable prospects which then appeared, we think he proved himself fully equal to the task, and entitled to rank amongst the most distinguished officers of Britain. Shortly after this appointment, he was nominated one of the Lords of the Admiralty.

Having sailed from Torbay in October with twenty-two sail of the line, he proceeded off Cape Finisterre, where he learned that the combined fleet had left Cadiz, and consisted of sixty-four line-of-battle ships. He afterwards fell in with the French division, which was on its return to port, and consisted of thirty-six ships of two and three decks. Considering the situation of the country at that period, and the great superiority of the enemy's fleet, a cautious line of conduct was evidently that which he ought to pursue; and as he did not see any probability of a favourable termination, should he force the enemy to a contest, he kept on his way to England, and the French admiral returned to Brest. The ensuing winter passed without any thing particular having occurred; but in the following spring, the most stupendous exertions were made, in hopes of crushing the naval power of Britain, and with that her commerce and political grandeur. The whole maritime force of Europe was drawn out against her; but in the midst of this storm, and the convulsion with which she was threatened, " she braved her enemies, not only by the greatness of spirit with which she encountered them, but also by the prodigious multiplicity of her resources." The first instance in which her power and resolution were displayed, was in the relief of Gibraltar, the garrison of which was severely suffering for the want of provisions. The transports, with the necessary supplies, being ready, were placed under the orders of Admiral Darby, who conducted them to the place of their destination with twenty-nine sail of the line. Great

fears, however, were entertained that he would not be able to effect the object he had in view, as there were at that time thirty sail of the line at Cadiz and thirty-six at Brest, with which the enemy threatened to oppose any reinforcements being thrown into the place. Notwithstanding the government of France was anxious for the reduction of Gibraltar, and was determined to use their utmost endeavours to reduce it, they were under the necessity of sending reinforcements to the East and West Indies; and during the time Admiral Darby was detained off the coast of Ireland, M. de Grasse sailed from Brest; to which circumstance is probably owing the safe arrival of the British admiral at Gibraltar, and the consequent relief of the place. On his arrival off the coast of Spain, he learned that Don Cordova had kept the sea for near a month, but hearing from a neutral of the near approach of the English fleet, had retired to Cadiz. Such was the issue of all the vauntings of the enemy. Nothing could be more grievous to the Spanish government than the success of this expedition, nor more mortifying to the national pride, than the disgrace, after so much boasting, which their navy suffered in the eyes of all Europe. The enemy, however, did not relax in their exertions, and their fleets, which were still greatly superior to the one under Admiral Darby, having effected a junction, convoyed an armament into the Mediterranean, to act against the Island of Minorca. This being accomplished, and in order to give, as they expected, a final blow to the power of Britain, they returned to the Channel about the middle of August, with the intention of attacking the force under Admiral Darby, of blocking up the Channel, and of intercepting the whole of the British commerce, and of even effecting a landing in England, should they deem it expedient. The consternation that was spread throughout the British dominions on the receipt of this intelligence was very great. The outward-bound West India fleet was at Cork, and the city itself, which was stored with magazines of provisions, must have fallen an easy prey, had it been attacked. Their force consisted of seventy sail, forty-nine of which were of the line; while the fleet under Admiral Darby, after being reinforced with every ship that could be collected, amounted only to thirty: with these he was ordered to sea, and to encounter all hazards in the protection of the homeward-bound fleets. Contrary winds, however, prevented his leaving Torbay: he therefore moored his squadron across the entrance, and adopted every precaution which suggested itself to strengthen his situation, and to prevent being taken by surprise; and was

seconded with the utmost alacrity by the officers and men under his command. But notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy's force, they did not venture to attack him, although, it is said, that they had strict orders to do so. Instead of acting with that vigour and resolution which was expected, they wasted their time in debate and consultation. They called a council of war, in which the commander-in-chief, De Guichen, was for an immediate attack, and looked upon it as the most auspicious moment that could be found; that, in case of success, of which he had no doubt, it would at once terminate the war with the utmost honour to France and her allies; but that, if they declined forcing the English squadron, they would be branded by Europe with timidity, and their conduct would be interpreted into a tacit acknowledgment of the superior skill and courage of Englishmen. He was strongly supported in these opinions by Don Vincent Dos, the third in command of the Spanish fleet, who gallantly offered to command the van, and to lead the attack in his own ship. But M. de Beausset, who was second to De Guichen, and an officer of great reputation, was of a contrary opinion, and advised the more safe and easy proceeding, that of endeavouring to intercept the homeward-bound fleets. This being the sentiment of the majority of the council, was finally adopted. They were, however, again disappointed, for the convoys having been delayed in their progress, did not arrive so soon as was expected: and the enemy's ships becoming leaky, they were obliged to return to port, without having effected a single object, or occasioned the smallest loss to their opponents. Thus terminated the menacing boasts of France and Spain, and their own friends and adherents became convinced of their inferiority. "Experience," it was now said, "fully proved that the superiority, of which they made such a parade, was much greater in appearance than in effect; and that, when put to a fair trial, they were not able to encounter Great Britain. Fleets might be constructed, and people found to man them, but the valour and skill of British seamen would still render them invincible."

As soon as the wind permitted, Admiral Darby proceeded to sea, and continued his cruise till after the safe arrival of the homeward-bound fleets. On the 6th November, 1781, he was made rear-admiral of England, and shortly after one of the elder brethren of the Trinity-House. He retained the command of the Channel fleet till the change of ministry in the spring of the following year, when he struck his flag, and did not afterwards accept of any command. He died in November 1790.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
VICE-ADMIRAL SIR HYDE PARKER, BART.

IN tracing the genealogy of this family, Mr. Playfair says, that enough has been done by some individuals of it to transmit the name with honour to posterity; and it therefore becomes a task almost supererogatory to search into past times for other incidents, when those which have taken place in modern periods are sufficient to exhibit its distinguished character, and to impart celebrity to any race, however illustrious. To prove, however, the antiquity of the family, we must have recourse to its genealogical particulars; and from these we learn, that the earliest known settlement of the Parkers was at North Melton in Devonshire, where they had a seat about the end of the fourteenth century, as appears from a visitation of that romantic country in 1620. They are said to have been highly distinguished for their attachment to the royal house during the times of King Charles I. and II. and to have suffered greatly, like other hearty partakers in the same cause, for their loyalty: but they still maintained that rank in society which they had held for several centuries, not only from their individual respectability, but from their intermarriages with some of the most distinguished families in the kingdom, amongst which are those of Mayhew, Boringdon, Courtney, Hall, Seymour, and Somerset.

The immediate ancestor of Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker was the Rev. Hyde Parker, rector of Tredington in Worcestershire. Our information relative to the early life and services of this gentleman is very imperfect: all that we have been able to ascertain is, that in 1739 and 1740, he served as midshipman with Commodore Anson; that in January 1744-5, he was made a lieutenant; and that in March 1747-8, he obtained post-rank in the Lively frigate. After this, we have no further account of him till 1757, when he commanded the Squirrel of 20 guns: in this year he was sent on a mission to the Emperor of Morocco; and having accomplished that, he commanded a small squadron of ships stationed off the Elbe, during the time that the Duke of Cumberland was commander-in-chief of the army on the Continent, and is mentioned as

having stopped at Embden a considerable quantity of forage intended for the use of the French army. He also captured L'Amerique of six hundred tons from St. Domingo, valued at 30,000*l*. Shortly after this, he removed to the Brilliant, and accompanied Captain Byron on a cruise, during which he engaged and sunk the Intrepide of 14 guns. In 1758, his name stands recorded as the captor of the Nymphe privateer of 20 guns, and also of the Vengeur of 12 guns. He was, moreover, attached to the squadron under the command of Commodore Howe, and accompanied him in his descents upon the French coast. In the succeeding year, he successfully pursued his career, having captured a large French privateer (the Basque) of 22 guns and 210 men; and assisted in the destruction of Havre de Grace, under the orders of Rear-Admiral Rodney. Having thus given proofs of his zeal and intrepidity in the service of his country, he was promoted in 1760 to the command of the Norfolk of 74 guns, and ordered to join the squadron in the Indian seas. Shortly after his arrival on that station, Rear-Admiral Stevens hoisted his flag on board the Norfolk, when Captain Parker removed into the Grafton, in which he assisted at the siege of Pondicherry; and in the year 1762, he served under Admiral Cornish in the memorable and successful expedition against Manilla, superintending the landing of the troops, and rendering the most essential service during the whole of the operations.

The admiral having obtained intelligence that a Spanish galleon was on her passage from Acapulca to Manilla, dispatched Captain Parker in the Panther, and Captain King in the Argo, in quest of her. They sailed on the 4th October, and on the 30th a strange sail being discovered, instant chase was given to her; but unfortunately, owing to a counter current, the Panther drove among the Narrangos, and was obliged to anchor, to save her from being wrecked. In the mean time the Argo, having escaped this danger, pursued the enemy, got up with and engaged him for two hours; but in consequence of the great superiority the enemy possessed in point of size, Captain King was obliged to haul off, in order to repair his damages. About this time the current slackened, and Captain Parker again made sail. About nine o'clock the following morning he came within gun-shot of the enemy, and brought him to close action, which continued for about two hours, when the Spanish captain, finding resistance vain, struck his colours; but instead of being the Philippina, which Captain Parker had been sent in search of, the

prize proved to be the Santissima Trinidada. She was considerably larger than the Panther, drew 30 feet of water, was pierced for 60 guns, and had upwards of 700 men on board. Though she was of inferior value to the Philippina, she proved a very rich prize, being worth upwards of 500,000*l.*

Peace having taken place, Captain Parker returned to England, and appears to have had a long respite from his professional labours, as we do not find any mention of him till 1777, when he was appointed to the Invincible of 74 guns. On the 23d January following, he was advanced to be rear-admiral of the Blue, and hoisted his flag on board the Royal Oak, being ordered to proceed to America as second in command under Admiral Byron: previous, however, to his sailing, the Royal Oak formed one of the squadron reviewed by his Majesty in the month of May at Spithead.

Having already described the sufferings this unfortunate squadron experienced on its passage to America, through the most tremendous and uninterrupted gales of wind, it will be unnecessary for us to enter any further on the subject. Admiral Parker arrived at New-York on the 29th August, having in company the Conqueror, Fame, Sultan, Bedford, and Grafton; the crews much exhausted by a disastrous voyage, and the ships in a very shattered condition. Having accompanied Admiral Byron to Boston Bay in search of D'Estaing, he afterwards proceeded with him to the West Indies for the same purpose: here he shifted his flag to the Conqueror, and in the undecisive action off Grenada, Admiral Parker commanded the rear division; but owing to the particular circumstances attending that encounter, he was prevented from taking any part in it.

Admirals Byron and Barrington having returned to England, the command of the fleet devolved upon Admiral Parker*, who, after great difficulty, having had the squadron refitted, put to sea, with his flag on board the Princess Royal, and had the good fortune to fall in with a French squadron, consisting of seven vessels, all armed, three of them with 30 guns each, laden with provisions for D'Estaing's fleet, the whole of which he captured and carried into port. This, however, was not the only success which attended his operations. On the 18th December, the Preston, being between Martinique and St. Lucia, made the signal for a fleet: this was no sooner observed by the admiral, who was then at

*. On the 29th March, he was made rear-admiral of the Red.

anchor in Gros Islet Bay, than he made the signal for the squadron to slip their cables and chase to windward. The captains were then assembled at a court-martial, and as the ships were in a course of fitting, some lay on their heel, others had their sails unbent, and from all of them great numbers of the crews were employed on shore in wooding and watering. Under these circumstances, the rear-admiral declared in his official letter, that the alertness and dispatch with which the ships put to sea was a matter of surprise even to him, who was no stranger to the activity, spirit, and dispatch of English officers and seamen. As the fleet stood over for Fort Royal, the enemy's squadron was discovered to be a convoy, which was thrown into the utmost confusion on perceiving the British ships in chase. Before four in the afternoon, nine or ten of them ran ashore on Martinique, where they were set on fire by the boats from the English squadron. The Boreas frigate having got up with the frigate that escorted them, brought her to action in Fort Royal Bay, when the French admiral in a 74-gun ship, and two others of the line, slipped their cables, and bore down to the assistance of their frigate: this obliged the Boreas to sheer off, when the enemy immediately hauled his wind, and endeavoured to regain his former anchorage. Admiral Parker used every exertion to come up with him, as did also the different captains of the squadron. About five o'clock the Conqueror, which was the headmost ship, and to windward of the others, got within range, and immediately began to engage, receiving, with the utmost coolness and bravery, the fire of the three ships till sunset, when the Albion was enabled to second her; but as they worked not only within range of the shoals in the bay, but within range of the batteries, from which the enemy kept up an incessant fire of shot and shells, Admiral Parker was obliged to call them off by night-signal, after having captured nine sail of the convoy, exclusive of those run ashore and burnt.

As the squadron was returning to St. Lucia, the admiral received a letter from General Sir Henry Calder, informing him that three large ships had been seen from the highlands of the island, steering northward: he immediately dispatched Rear-Admiral Rowley in the Suffolk and three other ships of the line in pursuit, who fortunately came up with and captured the whole of them, consisting of three frigates, one of 42 guns, one of 36, and one of 28. Several other ships also fell into his possession, amongst which were the Alcmene of 32, and the Compas of 20 guns; and his operations in protecting the commerce of England,

and distressing that of the enemy, were entirely successful, and attended with the most beneficial results.

The French squadron having received a great addition to its force by the arrival of M. de Guichen with several ships of the line, gave them such a superiority over Admiral Parker, as to render him incapable of undertaking any offensive operation. Whilst lying at St. Lucia, a signal was made from Morne Fortunée, that an English convoy, carrying 3000 troops, under the command of General Vaughan, was coming from Barbadoes to St. Lucia. At this time De Guichen, who commanded 26 sail of the line, and who had been blockading the British squadron for several days, was seen to detach a part of his fleet to cut off the convoy; upon which Admiral Parker called a council of war, and declared his resolution of going immediately to sea, observing that, "from the superior strength of the enemy, they might be beaten, but they could not be disgraced." He proceeded to sea, and by dint of superior seamanship brought the convoy safely to anchor in the road of St. Lucia*, by which the island was placed in the utmost security. The arrival of Sir George Rodney shortly after enabled the British squadron to assume its wonted superiority; and in the action of the 17th April, Admiral Parker commanded the van division, in which he conducted himself highly to the satisfaction of the commander-in-chief, obliging his opponent to quit the line, and behaved throughout with the greatest gallantry and good conduct.

The enemy having left the West Indies with the greater part of their force, Admiral Parker shifted his flag into the Medway, and proceeded with a convoy to England, where he arrived in safety; and on the 26th September was raised to the rank of vice-admiral of the Blue.

A new enemy having declared itself against England in the government of Holland, it became necessary to send a squadron of ships of war to the North Sea, for the purpose of watching their movements, and of protecting the commerce of the country. The command of this squadron was bestowed on Admiral Parker, whose well-established character inspired the fullest confidence of success. The squadron consisted of four sail of the line and one ship of 50 guns, with which he convoyed the outward-bound Baltic fleet, consisting of near five hundred sail. The Dutch had also a fleet of merchantmen going to the Baltic, and well knowing the danger which impended over their commerce, the

* Playfair.

English squadron was viewed with the most lively apprehensions: they accordingly strained every nerve to equip a force sufficient to protect their own merchantmen to their destination. The command of this force was intrusted to Admiral Zoutman, and consisted of seven sail of the line and six frigates, several of which were very large, and carried heavier metal than ships of their class generally do. To these is to be added the Charlestown, an American frigate of a new and extraordinary construction, carrying 36 32-pounders. She was originally designed for a ship of 64 guns, and her length and other dimensions corresponded accordingly.

Admiral Parker having collected the trade bound for England, on his return was joined by Commodore Keith Stewart, in the Berwick of 74 guns, and two frigates, increasing his force to six sail of the line; but they were by no means in a good condition, or in any way fit to contend with an enemy's fleet. The Princess Amelia of 80 guns was so old and weak, that her weight of metal had been reduced to that of a 50-gun ship. The Fortitude and Berwick were in a tolerable condition, and by far the best ships in the squadron. The Bienfaisant of 64 guns was an old French ship taken at Louisbourg in 1758. The Buffalo of 64 guns (formerly the Captain of 74 guns) had been discharged from the service, and used several years as a store-ship. The Preston of 50 guns was also one of his line-of-battle ships; but the superiority of the enemy obliged Admiral Parker to increase his line with the Dolphin of 44 guns. On the 5th August, he fell in with the Dutch fleet near the Dogger Bank, when he immediately detached the convoy under the protection of some of the frigates, and made the signal for a general chase.

When the contest for superiority between this country and Holland gave rise to naval wars, the fleets of the two nations proceeded to sea with a determination to engage each other, to exert their utmost strength and courage in defence of their respective states; the battles they fought were between men who sought victory in the jaws of death, though in the end the fleet of England generally bore away the palm of victory: so it was in the present instance. Without any display of professional skill, without any manœuvring, both sides prepared for battle with a coolness and steadiness that presaged the most determined resistance. The Dutch admiral having separated from the merchant-ships, lay-to in order of battle, and with the utmost composure waited the attack, without evincing the smallest inclination to avoid an action; but, on the contrary, displayed an eagerness to defend his charge and to meet his assailants,

completely characteristic of the ancient renown of his countrymen. On the other hand, Admiral Parker lost not a moment in commencing the engagement, the Dutch admiral allowing him to place his ships without interrupting him with a single shot; in short, each party seemed determined, as if by mutual consent, to fight it out. When within pistol-shot of the enemy, Admiral Parker made the signal to commence action, when the cannonade immediately became general on both sides, and continued with increasing fire for three hours and forty minutes, the destructive effects of which now became visible; the ships lay like logs on the water, totally unmanageable. Admiral Parker used every effort to put his ships in a condition to renew the action, but found it impracticable; while the Dutch admiral, seeing his disabled condition, with the aid of his numerous frigates bore away for the Texel in a most shattered condition, so that it was with the utmost difficulty three of them could make sail, one of which, the Hollandia, sunk before they could remove the wounded, the pendant of which being discovered above water, was brought to England by the vice-admiral as a proof of victory.

Although this action was not succeeded by those brilliant results which usually attend the operations of England by sea, there was no want of zeal, courage, or capacity on the part of either the officers or seamen, who did every thing that could be expected from men accustomed to fight and conquer: of this the admiral was fully convinced, and he accordingly gave out the following memorandum:

" The admiral desires the captains of his Majesty's ships who were in line on the 5th August, to accept, and communicate to the officers and seamen of the ships they commanded, his thanks, and perfect approbation of their good conduct and bravery shewn on that day."

On the part of the admiral we may say, that the action was fought with great judgment and ability; that he exerted every effort of which a brave man is capable during the whole day, and maintained the contest with the most determined resolution to uphold the honour of his country; and if his exertions were not rewarded by the capture of half the enemy's fleet, it was owing to circumstances over which he had no controul—to the superiority of numbers on the part of the enemy, and the bad condition of his own ships. This being the case, and considering it the duty of a faithful historian to record merit rather than success, we with pleasure add our mite of applause to his gallant exertions. At the same

time it must be confessed, that the enemy displayed such abilities in action, such cool and determined bravery, as have scarcely been exceeded, and strongly recall to our recollection the battles fought by De Ruyter, Van Tromp, and De Witt.

Both parties claimed the victory, but certainly without any pretensions on the part of the enemy. This may be decided by stating the object of the two admirals: that of Admiral Parker was to proceed to England, while that of Admiral Zoutman was to sail to the Baltic: the former accomplished his purpose, while the latter was obliged to return to port: he, moreover, fled from the scene of action, and lost one ship in the encounter. The victory was therefore indisputably on the side of the British admiral, who remained with his squadron in the place of action after the enemy had quitted it. Such was the issue of this celebrated action, the first that had happened between the fleets of England and Holland for upwards of a century.

The glory and success of the engagement, the courage and ability of the admiral, were duly acknowledged in England; but heavy complaints were made on account of the insufficiency of the force intrusted to Admiral Parker, who, it was asserted, would have either captured or destroyed the whole of the Dutch squadron, had he been properly reinforced. This was the more mortifying, as it was represented that several ships of the line were then lying idle at the Nore, the Downs, at Harwich, and other places contiguous to the scene of encounter, which, it was also said, might have joined the admiral previous to the action.

On the return of Admiral Parker to England, he met with such a reception as no admiral had ever been honoured with before: his Majesty and the Prince of Wales, attended by the First Lord of the Admiralty, and several other great officers of state, embarked at Greenwich on board the royal yachts, proceeded down the river, and met him and his shattered squadron just as they were coming to an anchor at the Nore. Admiral Parker had the honour to dine with his Majesty and the Prince of Wales on board the royal yacht; and in the evening the royal party repaired on board the Fortitude, when all the captains who had been in the action were presented to his Majesty, and had the honour to kiss the royal hand.

It was said, that the object of this visit was undertaken with a view of conferring some particular mark of honour on the admiral. This, however, did not take place, owing to the admiral himself, who, feeling that

he had been neglected and ill treated during his late cruise, declined any such distinction; and it is even said, that he expressed his determination to resign his command, and that "he wished his Majesty younger officers and better ships; that he was grown too old for the service." Were this the case, we cannot admire his choice and resolution. Though the conduct of the marine minister might have been culpable in the highest degree; though to his want of energy might be attributed the return of the Dutch squadron to Holland, instead of being brought in triumph to England; though his objections to, and his cause of complaint against, the First Lord of the Admiralty might have been well founded, still we think it was not paying a proper respect to the feelings of his Majesty, or duly appreciating the honour intended him. His Majesty was convinced of his abilities, he was satisfied with the recent display of them, and as a proof of the gratification he experienced, was desirous of bestowing on the admiral some signal mark of royal approbation; and we think, in this instance, that the intentions of his Majesty might have been separated from those of his minister, without derogating in the least from that high spirit of independence which the gallant admiral has been represented to have possessed. He was not called upon either to "flatter, disguise, or deceive;" and if he "possessed too much pride and stubbornness to be soothed out of his determination," we can only say, that we are sorry for it. But in consequence of the objections he had to the First Lord of the Admiralty, he declined the acceptance of any favour, and shortly after struck his flag.

In 1782, he succeeded to the dignity of a baronet; and on the change of administration, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the fleet in the East Indies. He sailed for that destination on the 13th October, on board the Cato of 50 guns; but was never heard of after leaving Rio Janeiro on the 12th December.

For a long time it was conjectured that the Cato had either foundered, or had taken fire and blown up at sea; but from an account which was laid before the Lords of the Admiralty in the year 1791, there was reason to suppose that she had been wrecked on the Malabar coast, and that the officers and crew had been barbarously murdered by the natives. The untimely fate of this brave and meritorious commander and his gallant crew was deeply lamented by the nation.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF

VICE-ADMIRAL SIR JOSHUA ROWLEY, BART.

ALTHOUGH this gentleman's name does not stand recorded as a commander in the achievement of any of those great and important victories which have added such glory to the country, it is eminently distinguished in the more subordinate situations, and is recorded amongst those who have obtained the thanks of Parliament and the gratitude of the nation.

Sir Joshua Rowley was a son of Sir William Rowley, who attained the distinguished honour of admiral of the fleet. He was born in the month of May 1734. Having made choice of the same noble profession as his father, he accompanied him in several of his cruises, and by him was initiated into the profession. After serving the usual period of a midshipman's service, he was appointed to a lieutenancy on the 2d July, 1747; but during the time he fulfilled the duties of that station, or that of commander, we have no particular accounts of him. On the 4th December, 1753, he was promoted to post-rank, and appointed to the Rye of 20 guns. This being a period of general pacification, his services were not of such a nature as to entitle them to distinct notice or enumeration. On the apprehended rupture with France in 1755, he removed to the Ambuscade of 40 guns, in which he served under the orders of Admiral Hawke. In January 1756, he commanded the Hampshire of 50 guns; and in October 1757, he was appointed to the Montagu of 60 guns. In this latter ship he proceeded to the Mediterranean, to join the squadron under the command of Admiral Osborne, and in the defeat of the Marquis du Quesne, he is described as contributing greatly to the success of the day. Captain Rowley remained but a short time on this station, as we find him acting during the summer under the orders of Lord Howe, in his desultory expeditions to the French coast, throughout the whole of which his personal exertions were particularly conspicuous; he displayed the greatest zeal, and called forth the approbation of his commander. In the retreat from St. Cas Bay he was one of the officers appointed to superintend the embarkation of the army, and by

his activity numbers safely reached the ships, who would otherwise have fallen into the possession of the enemy; but in the performance of this service, he was himself wounded and taken prisoner. Being shortly after exchanged, he was reinstated in his command, and in the following year was attached to the fleet under Sir Edward Hawke. In the memorable defeat of Conflans, the Montagu was the sixth ship in the British line; and for his conduct during the action he received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament. After the engagement, he was detached with Commodore Young to Quiberon Bay. In this year he also captured the Marigny, French privateer of 20 guns.

In 1760, he sailed with Sir James Douglas to the Leeward Islands; and having removed into the Superbe, he returned to England. In the following year no particular mention is made of him, except his having convoyed the outward-bound East India ships part of their voyage.

In the beginning of 1762, he was ordered to escort the outward-bound East and West India fleets, with the trade to North America, a considerable way to the westward, having under his orders the Gosport of 44 guns, Captain J. Jervis, and the Danaë of 38 guns, Captain H. Martin. Whilst employed on this service, he fell in with a French squadron, under the command of M. de Ternay, consisting of two ships of the line, one of 44 and one of 32 guns. As soon as the enemy got sight of the convoy, they immediately gave chase; when Captain Rowley, undismayed by the disparity of force, having directed the merchant-ships to continue their course, dropped astern, and drew his ships into a line to receive them. This resolute behaviour so intimidated the French admiral, that, on coming within random shot, he hauled his wind, and made off with all the sail he could set. Captain Rowley followed in pursuit; but finding that the enemy greatly outsailed him, and that there was no chance of coming up with him, he rejoined his convoy. Having proceeded to the latitude pointed out in his instructions, he returned to England. The merchants of London were so well pleased with his spirit and activity, and the great attention he had paid to their interests, that they presented to him a beautiful silver epergne, and the East India Company a handsome silver dish, in testimony of the high sense they entertained of his abilities, and the great care and attention he had shewn to the ships under his protection.

The destination of M. de Ternay's squadron having been ascertained, Captain Rowley was ordered to Halifax, under the command of Captain

Palliser, to reinforce the squadron under Lord Colville; but as the enemy were defeated in their attempts in that quarter* previous to their arrival, they of course could not join in his expulsion. Peace having shortly after taken place, Captain Rowley returned to England, and had a long respite from his professional labours, not being again employed till 1778†, when the war with France required his active exertions. In that year he was appointed to the Monarch of 74 guns; and in the engagement with the French squadron under D'Orvilliers, he led the fleet into action, and had 11 men killed and wounded.

Towards the conclusion of the year he removed into the Suffolk, and shortly after was appointed to command a squadron of seven ships of the line, fitting out as a reinforcement for Admiral Byron. Having hoisted a broad pendant as commodore, he was directed to take under his convoy the merchant-ships for the West Indies, and also to take charge of the outward-bound East Indiamen, as far as their course lay together. For the better protection of these valuable fleets, amounting in the whole to near two hundred sail, Lord Shuldham, having under his orders ten sail of the line, was directed to see them to a certain latitude; which being accomplished, he returned to England. The commodore, with his convoy and reinforcements, arrived at St. Lucia on the 12th February, 1779, and immediately formed a junction with Admiral Byron. On the 19th March, he was raised to the rank of rear-admiral of the Blue.

In proceeding with the fleet to the relief of Granada, Admiral Rowley was ordered to cover and protect the transports, being intended by Admiral Byron to superintend the debarkation; but on Admiral Byron discovering the great superiority of the enemy's force, he was directed by signal to take his station in the line, and in the ensuing battle he was warmly engaged with the enemy, having had 32 men killed and wounded. Though the most perverse and unfortunate circumstances prevented the engagement from being attended with decided consequences, the conduct of Admiral Rowley was highly exemplary and praiseworthy.

Admirals Byron and Barrington having returned to England, the command of the fleet devolved on Admiral Hyde Parker, by whom Admiral Rowley was detached with three sail of the line in quest of three frigates, which were seen from the high lands of St. Lucia, the whole of which he came up with and captured.

On the arrival of Sir George Rodney, he still continued with the fleet;

* See *Memoir of Lord Graves.*

† In 1777 he was appointed a colonel of marines.

and having removed his flag into the Conqueror, he bore a distinguished share in the action with De Guichen, on the 17th April, 1780, in which, animated by the example of his commander, he attacked the enemy's rear, and obliged his opponent to quit the line. In the subsequent encounters on the 15th and 19th of May, Admiral Rowley commanded the van division of the fleet, which were the only ships engaged, and equally distinguished himself by his gallantry and intrepidity. In the last contest his ship and crew suffered severely.

The enemy having collected a large force at the Havannah, with which they threatened to attack the Island of Jamaica, Admiral Rowley was detached with ten sail of the line, to reinforce Sir Peter Parker on that station; and which placed the island in a state of complete security.

On the 26th September, he was advanced to be rear-admiral of the Red; and in the following year he succeeded to the chief command, in consequence of Sir Peter Parker returning to England: but the decisive victory obtained by Sir George Rodney so dispirited the enemy, that, though they had still a formidable force in that hemisphere, they did not venture to undertake any expedition, or to leave the ports in which they had taken shelter; consequently Admiral Rowley had no opportunity to acquire any addition to the fame and fortune which he had already obtained. Preliminaries of peace being shortly after signed, put a period to his professional services. After his arrival in England, his Majesty was graciously pleased to confer upon him the dignity of a baronet, in testimony of the high sense he entertained of the services he had rendered to his country.

On the 24th September, 1787, he was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral of the White, which was the highest rank he lived to attain, dying at his seat, Tindring-Hall, Suffolk, February 26, 1790, being at the time in his fifty-eighth year.

Sir Joshua married, 18th March, 1759, the eldest daughter of B. Burton, Esq. deputy-governor of the Bank, by whom he had seven sons and three daughters. The second and fourth sons, Bartholomew and Charles, also entered into the naval service of the country.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF

ADMIRAL LORD GRAVES.

FROM the genealogical account published of this gentleman's family by Playfair, it appears that they came originally from Gascony; one branch of which settled at Little Wressel in Yorkshire, and which was collaterally related to that of Hugh Graves, who was member of Parliament for the city of York during the reign of Elizabeth. Both branches are supposed to have been descended from the family of Les Graves of Beghley and Graves in Derbyshire. From the first part of these branches descended the object of the present memoir, who was born at Thankes in Cornwall, and was the second son of Admiral Thomas Graves.

From an authorized article inserted in the *European Magazine*, it appears that Mr. Graves first went to sea at a very early age, under the protection of Commodore Medley, to whose care and attention he was greatly indebted for a theoretical knowledge of his profession. Subsequently to this, Mr. Graves removed to the Norfolk of 80 guns, commanded by his father, with whom he served at the siege of Carthagena, the Norfolk being appointed to lead in the attack. She was shortly after ordered to England, and then proceeded to join the squadron in the Mediterranean, where, on the 25th June, 1743, Mr. Graves was promoted to the rank of lieutenant. In this station he was present on board the Romney of 50 guns during the action off Hieres Bay in the beginning of the following year. He afterwards accompanied Admiral Lestock in his unsuccessful expedition against Port l'Orient. On the death of the admiral, which shortly afterwards took place, Mr. Graves removed into the Monmouth, commanded by Captain Harrison, with whom he served under the orders of Admiral Anson, in the capture of the French squadron under Jonquire, and also in the memorable defeat of L'Entendiere by Sir Edward Hawke. In this action the Monmouth was particularly distinguished, and her loss was in proportion.

During the peace of 1748, Mr. Graves having a natural turn of mind for the mechanical part of philosophy, and anxious to perfect himself in

every science connected with his profession, applied himself to the study of gunnery, engineering, and fortification; and, moreover, made himself master of the French language. During this period of tranquillity, he went twice to the coast of Africa as first lieutenant, with Commodores Buckle and Stepney. Upon his return the second time, in 1754, he was appointed by Lord Anson to command the Hazard sloop. A declaration of war having been issued against France in the following year, he was ordered off Brest, in company with some other vessels, to watch the enemy's movements; but the enemy having sailed from thence previous to their arrival, he continued to cruise off the coast, and had the good fortune to fall in with part of the French fleet, which, having convoyed their transports to a certain latitude, were on their return to port. Captain Graves stood twice across their line, and ascertained exactly the force of every ship, a circumstantial account of which he transmitted to Lord Anson; who was so well pleased with this proof of zeal, that he immediately gave him post-rank, appointed him to the Sheerness frigate, and promised him his future friendship.

In 1758, he removed to the Unicorn of 28 guns; and in the month of February in the following year captured the Moras, a large French privateer of 22 guns; after which he was placed under the orders of Admiral Rodney, and acted with him in the bombardment of Havre de Grace. In 1760, he was promoted to the Antelope of 50 guns, and is mentioned as the captor of the Villegenie privateer of 12 guns. In the following year, he sailed with a convoy for Newfoundland, having been appointed governor and commander-in-chief of that colony.

A French squadron under De Ternay, with a body of land forces, having arrived off the island in June 1762, landed their troops, and obliged the officer commanding the garrison at St. John's to surrender the place. Their triumph, however, was but of short duration; for Captain Graves, hearing of this intelligence, took every means in his power to check their career: "he pushed through a frozen sea, filled with immense floating islands of ice, at a great risk, for Placentia, where he directly sailed into the harbour, and, contrary to the advice of the captains of the men of war, as well as of the lieutenant-governor and all the officers, landed, and assumed the supreme command. By his spirit he encouraged the military of both services into a resolution to defend the place against the French forces, should they, as was expected, march to its attack. He instantly set about repairing the old fortifications,

erected a new fort, and forwarded a detail of his situation to General Amherst and Lord Colville in America, praying their united aid in the recovery of St. John's, and, if possible, the capture of the enemy's squadron. The general and admiral lost no time in supplying a force for this purpose; Lord Colville coming himself with his squadron, and the general sending his brother with a body of troops. So soon as they arrived off St. John's, Colonel Amherst called a council, to determine the proper place for landing the soldiers; but adopted the advice which the commodore gave, although different from that of the other officers." The success which attended their subsequent operations shewed the judiciousness of this advice, and proved the abilities and professional skill of Commodore Graves. The French were defeated, and the town, with its whole garrison, taken; but, unfortunately, De Ternay, with the squadron under his command, effected his escape during a thick fog. Thus did the active spirit of Commodore Graves, by being properly directed, preserve the colony to the dominion of Great Britain; thus did the exertions of one man inspire confidence in his followers, that was productive of the greatest advantage; and thus we see what great resources are to be found in, and how difficult it is to overcome, men determined to leave nothing undone for the charge intrusted to them.

During the time the enemy remained masters of the place, they plundered without mercy every one who possessed any property, and deposited the things thus taken in warehouses appointed for that purpose. After their expulsion, the arduous task of returning the plundered property to the right owners was left to the commodore, whose impartial conduct in the regulation met with universal approbation.

On the return of Commodore Graves to England, he proposed several new regulations for the better government and security of the island; which, being approved by the ministry, were carried into effect. He had also the satisfaction, upon his voyage home, to save the crew of the Marlborough of 74 guns, then returning from the siege of the Havannah, just before the ship herself foundered.

In consequence of several complaints having been made to the government respecting the conduct of some of the governors of forts on the coast of Africa, Captain Graves was sent thither with a small force, to ascertain the precise situation of affairs, to inquire into abuses, and to rectify them wherever it was practicable. This delicate affair he performed with his usual ability, and to the entire satisfaction of the mer-

chants trading to that continent. After his return, he was appointed to the Temeraire of 74 guns, stationed as a guard-ship. In 1773, he commanded the Raisonable of 64 guns, during the grand review at Spithead; after which he sailed with Sir Richard Spry on a short cruise. On the 4th April, 1775, he received the honourable appointment of colonel of marines, and in the same year was chosen a representative in Parliament for the borough of East Looe. In the following year, in consequence of the disturbances in America, he was appointed to the Nonsuch. On the commencement of the war with France, he removed into the Conqueror, and received orders to put himself under the command of Admiral Byron, with whom he sailed to North America, and subsequently to the West Indies. During his continuance on this station, he received information of his elevation to a flag, which took place on the 19th March, 1779: he at the same time received orders to return to England, and quitting the command of the Conqueror, took charge of a large and valuable convoy, which he had the good fortune to conduct home in perfect safety, although the combined fleets of France and Spain were at that time cruising in the Channel. Shortly after his arrival, he was commissioned to the London of 98 guns, and sailed in the grand fleet under Sir Charles Hardy.

In 1780, he again sailed for America, having under his orders six sail of the line, as a reinforcement for the squadron under the command of Admiral Arbuthnot. He arrived at New-York on the 13th July, having captured on his passage a valuable French East Indiaman.

No event of consequence took place after Admiral Graves's arrival, till the month of March in the following year, when an undecisive action took place with the French fleet off the Chesapeake; in which, however, he had but a very small share. Admiral Arbuthnot being shortly after recalled, the command of the squadron devolved on Admiral Graves, who, having refitted the squadron, received dispatches from the Admiralty, informing him that large supplies of clothing, money, and stores were about to sail from Europe for the use of the Americans, directing him to keep a good look out, and to use his utmost exertions to intercept them. He accordingly made the most judicious arrangement of his squadron for that purpose, and proceeded himself with six sail of the line to the northward, leaving Commodore Affleck to command at New-York. In a few days after his departure, a dispatch arrived from Sir George Rodney, directed to Admiral Arbuthnot, informing him that the

French commander-in-chief intended to dispatch a part of his force from Martinique to North America; and that, on his ascertaining that any part of the enemy's squadron had sailed for that destination, he would immediately dispatch part of his own force to the admiral's assistance. This information the commodore forwarded to Admiral Graves by the Swallow; but that vessel having been captured by the enemy, the information of course did not reach him. Indeed a strange fatality seems to have attended those vessels which were charged with dispatches for Admiral Graves. In addition to the instance above, the Active brig was sent from the West Indies by Sir Samuel Hood with important intelligence; but she also fell into the hands of the enemy, and was carried into Philidelphia; while the Nymph frigate, which Sir Samuel Hood had sent to inform him that he was coming to his assistance, arrived at New-York only one hour before his squadron came to an anchor without the bar. Thus by a chain of cross and unforeseen accidents was Admiral Graves prevented from receiving the intelligence sent him of the enemy's movements in due time; and thus, in a great measure, putting it out of his power to counteract them so effectually as he might otherwise have done.

Having cruised for some time in vain for the expected reinforcements from France, he returned to New-York to refit, several of his ships standing greatly in need of repair. In the mean time Sir Samuel Hood arrived off the Chesapeake with fourteen sail of the line; but being disappointed in meeting with Admiral Graves (owing to the circumstance noticed above), he proceeded to Sandy-Hook; but the ships under Admiral Graves were not then ready for sea, which gave great uneasiness to both admirals, especially as intelligence was received that the French admiral, De Barras, had sailed from Rhode Island. The utmost diligence was therefore used, and the greatest exertion made, to complete their equipment: it was, however, the 31st of August before this could be accomplished; and even then he was obliged to leave two sail of the line behind him, his anxiety to be off the Chesapeake not allowing him to wait any longer for their completion.

The reinforcement under Sir Samuel Hood having increased his force to nineteen sail of the line, he pushed with a press of sail for the Chesapeake, where he arrived on the 5th September, and found the French fleet lying at anchor. The enemy, who appeared to be thrown into some disorder by the appearance of the British fleet, slipped their cables, and formed in a line of battle ahead as they got under sail, displaying twenty-

four sail of the line. Notwithstanding this disparity of force, the British admiral stood towards them in a line of battle ahead, at two cables' length; and when his van had advanced as far as the shoal, called the Middle Ground, he made the signal for the fleet to wear, bringing them nearly parallel to the enemy, and upon the same tack; Admiral Drake in the van, and Sir Samuel Hood in the rear. At half-past two the signal was made for the ships to lead more starboard, or towards the enemy. About this time the Count de Grasse finding that his headmost ships were advancing fast towards his opponents, ordered them to bear up two points, that they might have the advantage of engaging together*. About a quarter-past three the signal to lead more starboard was repeated, and shortly after was followed by that for the rear to make more sail; at forty-six minutes past three, for a line of battle ahead, at one cable's length; and now finding that the van of both squadrons had nearly approached each other, the signal to engage was thrown out, when the admiral filled his own main-top-sails, hoisted the signal for close action, and bore down to the enemy. At eleven minutes after four, the signal for a line ahead was hauled down, that it might not interfere with the signal for close action. At a quarter-past, the van and centre of the British fleet commenced action; but in bearing down, the London, the admiral's flag-ship, by taking the lead, had advanced further towards the enemy than some of the ships which were immediately ahead of her in line of battle, and when luffing up to bring her broadside to bear, they having done the same thing, her second ahead was brought nearly upon the weather-beam, and the line ahead not being sufficiently extended, that signal was again hoisted, and continued flying for about five minutes, when it was lowered, and that for close action repeated. It, however, soon became evident that the French admiral did not wish for close action: he had no doubt other objects in view; he wished to save his ships for other purposes; and finding his van was hard pressed, and was suffering severely, he made the signal for them to bear away, which they did with all the appearance of flight. The action, however, did not cease till after sunset; but after the defeat of their van, the enemy continued to bear up, and confined themselves to protecting their retreat. During the night, the fleet was kept extended in a line with the enemy, and every preparation was made for renewing the action on the following morning; but the disabled state of some of the ships which had been engaged, pre-

* French admiral's account of the battle.

vented Admiral Graves from putting it into execution. The squadrons remained in sight of each other for five days, repairing their damages; and as the wind had shifted, whereby the enemy obtained the weather-gage, they might at any time have brought their opponents to action: this, however, they did not attempt; but on the night of the 9th, stood away for the Chesapeake, where they found M. de Barras with eight sail of the line, which rendered their force so decidedly superior, as to bid defiance to any attempt to dislodge them: add to which, a fresh gale and a heavy sea so considerably increased the damages of the disabled ships, that it was found necessary to destroy one of them (the Terrible) of 74 guns. Admiral Graves therefore determined to follow the resolution of a council of war, to proceed to New-York before the equinox, and use every possible means to put the fleet in the best state for service*.

The result of this encounter, which decided the fate of the war, and wrested from this country the dominion of her provinces in America, naturally excited the utmost regret, and gave rise to a great deal of controversy, very unfavourable to the British admiral. For our own parts, we do not wish to enter into the particulars; we have no desire to search for defects; our object is rather to display excellence, being satisfied on all occasions, if an officer does his duty to the utmost of his power, if blame does not attach itself fairly to him, whatever may be the issue of the contest. Justice, however, obliges us to add, that Admiral Graves was not only blamed for the manner in which he brought the enemy to action, but also for his conduct previous thereto. It was said, that if he had kept his squadron entire (which he was bound to do, especially at that season of the year, as it was well known that during the hurricane months in the West Indies the enemy might be expected on the coast of America), and had met Sir Samuel Hood, as was expected, off the Chesapeake, he would not only have been in possession of that anchorage, but would have been enabled to encounter him with sufficient force, united to great advantages of situation; that, by his fruitless and unfortunate cruise off Boston, he not only missed the proper time of joining, but his force was weakened by the bad weather that he met with; and that being thereby obliged to leave some of his ships at New-York to repair, a great superiority was given to the enemy's fleet under De Grasse. We have, however, already shewn that Admiral Graves did not receive any

* *Gazette Letter.*

timely notice of De Grasse's motions, or of Sir Samuel Hood's destination. If the expresses sent by Sir George Rodney to apprize him of these events were taken by the enemy, or otherwise detained, it was no fault in him; it was a misfortune to be regretted, but could not have been foreseen, nor entirely prevented if it could.

With regard to the battle itself, we fear the same excuses cannot be made for him: of that encounter it has been said, that on the enemy standing out to leeward of the British fleet, between the shoal of the Middle Ground, and the land of the Chesapeake to leeward of it, Admiral Graves, who was then to windward, should, instead of wearing round to engage the enemy, have taken up the anchorage which his opponent had just left: that he ought to have moored his ships in the form of a horseshoe, and that then it would have been impossible for any number of the enemy to have forced his position; that he would then have had an open communication with Lord Cornwallis, and would have been able to render him any assistance that he required, either in landing of men, money, or stores, or of taking off his army in case of necessity. It has been farther said, that in case the relief of the British army under Lord Cornwallis had been no object of Admiral Graves, supposing they had been entirely out of the question, and the defeat of the French fleet under De Grasse his only aim, his plan of attack was injudicious in the extreme: that, after allowing the van of the enemy to pass out, he might, from his windward situation, have stood in to leeward of the Middle Ground, and attacked the enemy's centre and rear with his whole force. With such a superiority the result could not be doubted: their disabled ships must have driven upon a lee shore, where they would have been wrecked; and if they had anchored, they would have presented their bows to the British squadron, and in either case their destruction would have been inevitable. It has been still farther said, that supposing the enemy's van had been able to return to cover their disabled ships, then in the narrows, they must have come in to leeward of the British fleet, and would only have ultimately increased the confusion of their situation and the certainty of their total defeat*.

After the return of the squadron to New-York, they were fortunately joined by the Prudent of 64 guns; on the 24th, by Rear-Admiral Digby,

* We insert this on the authority of an officer of long standing and high reputation, who, to great theoretical knowledge, has added considerable practical experience, and in whose judgment and discretion we place the utmost confidence.

with the Prince George of 98 guns, the Canada of 74, and the Lion of 64, from England; and by the Torbay of 74, and the Prince William of 64, from Jamaica. Admiral Digby had been appointed commander-in-chief on the American station, and brought with him orders for Admiral Graves to proceed to Jamaica. Soon after which, a general council of war, consisting of land and sea officers, was held to consider of the best means to be adopted for the relief of Lord Cornwallis, whose situation at York-Town now occupied their whole attention. Surrounded on the land side by an army of French and Americans of more than four times his own numbers, and blocked up by sea by a fleet of thirty-two sail of the line, it appeared evident that little less than a miracle could extricate him from his perilous situation. It, however, is not the character of English seamen to despond, or to give up any thing for lost without making the utmost exertions to save it; and though nothing but the most desperate circumstances could have justified the British commanders in seeking another encounter with the enemy, it was determined to make every effort for his relief. But amidst the disappointments and distresses experienced on this occasion; amidst the incessant trials, difficulties, and dangers of this unfortunate campaign, it was some consolation to the commander-in-chief to find the attachment of both services to his person continued unshaken. Admiral Graves was about to resign the command of the fleet to Admiral Digby, but as a proof of the high opinion entertained of him by those under his command, this step was decidedly opposed; the naval and military officers were unanimous in their solicitations for his continuance, at least till the projected expedition was over. In this desire no one appeared more anxious than Admiral Digby. In compliance therefore with this unequivocal expression of regret and attachment, Admiral Graves continued to superintend the operations of the squadron, exerting the utmost zeal and ardour in refitting the disabled ships, and exciting others to display the same vigour and assiduity. On the other hand, the French and Americans were fully sensible that every effort would be made to rescue the army under Lord Cornwallis, and consequently redoubled their exertions, in the hope of obliging him to surrender before any relief could come to his assistance. They were confident, that could any junction be formed with him, they should stand little chance of accomplishing their purpose, notwithstanding their great superiority of numbers. The repairs of the British squadron proceeded with the utmost dispatch; and though the necessary preparations took

up more time than could have been wished, and were not completed till the 19th October, still, " when the immense labour of equipping so large a squadron, and of getting it ready for sea in so short a time, under all the difficulties that occurred, is attentively considered, the exertions made on this occasion must appear to have been great indeed; they redound much to the honour of Admiral Graves, his officers, and men." 7000 land forces having been embarked on board the squadron, which now consisted of twenty-five sail of the line, with two 50-gun ships, it put to sea on the day above-mentioned, with a full determination to rush into any danger for the preservation of their countrymen; but on their arrival off the Chesapeake on the 21th, they learned, to their inexpressible sorrow and regret, that all their endeavours to save the British army were useless, Lord Cornwallis having been obliged to surrender the whole army as prisoners of war on the 19th, the day previous to the departure of the squadron from Sandy-Hook. Under these untoward circumstances, to have attempted any thing against the enemy would have been the height of temerity: Admiral Graves, however, proceeded to reconnoitre the French squadron, and found them anchored in the form of a crescent at the entrance of York river, extending from the Horseshoe Sand to the York Spit. Finding, from their formidable position, that there was no probability of attacking them with advantage, and as the enemy, notwithstanding their superiority and recent success, discovered no inclination to hazard an action, Admiral Graves returned to New-York, and after resigning the command to Admiral Digby, proceeded to Jamaica to join Sir Peter Parker. On his passage, he captured the Imperieux French ship, mounting 36 guns. After the glorious victory of the 12th April, Admiral Graves was directed by Sir George Rodney to take under his command the Ramillies, Canada, and Centaur, of 74 guns each, with the Pallas frigate, and also the Ville de Paris, Glorieux, Hector, Ardent, and Caton prize-ships*, and proceed with the convoy bound to England. He accordingly sailed on the 25th July, but in consequence of the representation of the officers on board the Ardent of the distressed state of that ship, Admiral Graves ordered her back to Port Royal: indeed, the whole of them were in a very unfit state to undertake so long a voyage at that season of the year. The Hector parted company in the gulf

* The Jason was likewise ordered to form part of this convoy, but being short of water, she did not join them.

stream on the 25th August. On the 8th September, the Caton sprung a leak, hoisted the signal of distress, and made such serious and alarming reports of her situation, that the admiral ordered her and the Pallas to keep company together, and bear away for Halifax, then 87 leagues distant: the rest of the convoy pursuing their route, met with a tolerably fair passage till the 16th, when indication of foul weather was observable in the south-east. "Every preparation was made on board the flag-ship for such an event, not only on account of her own safety, but also by way of example to the rest of the fleet. The admiral collected the ships about six o'clock, and lay-to under his main-sail* upon the larboard tack, with all his other sails furled, and the top-gallant masts and yards lowered down. The wind soon increasing, blew strongly from the E. S. E. with a very heavy sea, and about three o'clock in the morning of the 17th, flew suddenly about to the contrary point, blowing most tremendously, accompanied with rain, thunder, and lightning, and taking the Ramillies by the lee, threw her main-sail aback; her main-mast came away by the board, and the mizen-mast half-way up; the fore-top-mast fell over the starboard bow, the fore-yard broke in the slings, the tiller snapped in two, and the rudder was nearly torn off. Thus was this capital ship, from being perfectly tight before, reduced within a few minutes to a mere wreck, by the outrageousness of the blast and the furiousness of the beat of the sea, both acting in opposition to each other. She was pooped; the cabin where the admiral lay was flooded, and his cot jerked down by the violence of the shock and the ship's instantaneous revulsion; so that he was fain to pull on his boots half-leg deep in water, without any stockings, to huddle on wet clothes, and get instantly on deck. On his first coming there, he ordered two of the lieutenants to examine into the state of things below, and to keep a sufficient number of the people at the pumps, whilst himself and the captain kept the deck to encourage the men to clear away the wreck, which, by its constant surging and re-surging with every wave against the body of the ship, had beaten off much of the copper from the starboard side, and exposed the seams so much to the sea, that the decayed oakum washed out, and her whole frame became at once exceedingly porous and leaky."

* It appears strange that an officer of Admiral Graves's standing in the navy, should, at such a time, have brought-to under his main-sail; as the sudden shifting of the wind after a gale from S. E. to N. W. which almost to a certainty takes place, of course renders it extremely dangerous, and in this instance proved most destructive.

Imagination cannot paint any thing more dreadfully grievous or distressing to a feeling mind, than the scene which presented itself when the morning dawned. Signals of distress were seen in every direction; destruction, in its most hideous forms, was spread all around; and the sea was covered with wrecks, to which clung numbers of unfortunate beings, of both sexes, struggling for life. Their piteous efforts to attract attention and to obtain assistance, which, from the fury of the storm, it was utterly impossible to give, while it rent every heart with the most poignant grief, filled the spectators with horror and dismay: it made them dread, that what those miserable beings were then suffering might, in a few moments, be their own unhappy fate.

" Of the ships of war that were discerned, there were, the Canada half-hull down upon the lee quarter, with the main-top-mast and mizen-top-mast gone, and the main-top damaged, with the main-yard aloft and the main-sail furled; the Centaur, far to windward, without mast, bowsprit, or rudder; and the Glorieux, without fore-mast, bowsprit, or main-top-mast. Of these, the two latter perished with all their crews, excepting the captain of the Centaur and some few select people. The Ville de Paris appeared unhurt, and was commanded by a most experienced seaman (Captain George Wilkinson), who had made twenty-four voyages to and from the West Indies; and who had therefore been selected to lead the fleet through the gulf: nevertheless, she was buried in the same ocean with all on board her, consisting of more than 800 people. The Ramillies had, at ten o'clock, six feet water in her hold, nor could the pumps, with all the exertions of the crew, keep her free, the water-ways having worked out the oakum, and the beams amidship being almost driven from their clamps: the admiral therefore gave orders for all the buckets to be manned, and every officer to assist in freeing the ship; the mizen-top-sail was set upon the fore-mast, and the main-top-gallant-sail on the stump of the mizen-mast, and the tiller shipped; and in this condition, by bearing away, she scudded on at so good a rate, that she held pace with some of the merchantmen."

In the course of the day, several of the guns, some shot, and other heavy articles were thrown overboard, to ease the ship, but without effect. The boisterous state of the weather still continued, and the ballast having got into the well, choked the pumps: the ensuing night was passed in baling, but, notwithstanding the utmost efforts, the water still increased. In this state they continued till the evening of the 19th, when,

"there being twenty merchantmen in sight, the officers united in beseeching the admiral to go into one of them: but this he positively refused to do, deeming it, as he said, unpardonable in a commander-in-chief to desert his garrison in distress, and that his living a few years longer was of very little consequence; but that, by leaving his ship at such a time, he should discourage and slacken the exertions of the people, and set them a very bad example. On the morning of the 20th, the admiral ordered the spare and stream anchors to be cut away, and in the course of the day all the lower-deck guns were thrown overboard. When evening came, the people in general, even the stoutest hearted, began to fail in their spirits, and openly to express the utmost despair, together with the most earnest desire of quitting the ship, lest they should all founder in her. The admiral hereupon advanced and told them, that he and the officers had an equal regard for their own lives; that the officers had no intention of deserting either them or the ship; and that, as to himself, he was determined to try one night more in her: he therefore hoped and entreated they would do so too, for there was still room to imagine that one good day, with a moderate sea, might enable them, by united exertions, to clear and secure the well against the encroaching ballast which washed into it; and if this could be done, they should be able to restore the chains to the pumps and use them, and that then hands enough might be spared to raise jury-masts, with which they might carry the ship to Ireland: that her countenance alone, whilst she could swim, would be sufficient to protect the remaining part of the convoy; and above all, that as every thing now had been done for her relief which could be thought of, it would be but reasonable to wait the effect; and he assured them, moreover, that he would make the signal directly for the trade to lie by them during the night, with which he doubted not that they would comply. This temperate speech had the desired effect; the firmness and confidence with which he had spoken, and their reliance on his seamanship and judgment, joined to his constant presence and attention to any accident, had a most wonderful effect upon them; they became pacified, and returned to their duty and work. Indeed, since the first disaster, he had scarcely ever quitted the deck, which they had all observed, together with his diligence in personally viewing every circumstance of distress: they knew his skill and experience, and placed great trust in them.

"At three in the morning of the 21st, being the fourth night, the

well being quite broke in, the casks, ballast, and remaining shot all rushed together, and destroyed the cylinders of the pump; the frame and carcase of the ship began to give way in every part; and the officers, carpenters, and the whole crew exclaimed, it was impossible any longer to keep her above water." The crew was moreover completely worn out with fatigue, hunger, cold, and wet; and the admiral, seeing there was no chance of saving the ship, consented to abandon her; and accordingly at daylight made the signal for the boats of the merchant-ships, when the crew, with what little beef, pork, and bread could be got at, were distributed on board the convoy. About four o'clock, the Ramillies was completely abandoned, with the exception of an officer and a boat's crew who were left to set her on fire, and which was effected immediately afterwards.

Owing to the excellent arrangements and the due subordination kept up to the last moment, not a man was lost on this distressing occasion, notwithstanding there was a very heavy sea. The admiral having embarked on board the Belle, arrived at Cork the 10th October, and finding the Myrmidon frigate there, hoisted his flag on board that vessel, with which he proceeded to Plymouth, where he arrived on the 17th. With the loss of the Ramillies Admiral Graves lost the whole of his property that was on board of her, consisting of wines, furniture, books, and chests, which had cost him 1000*l.* Part of these could no doubt have been preserved, but he was unwilling to employ persons in packing up things which belonged to himself at a time of such general calamity, or to fare better than any of those who had shared in his distress and so faithfully obeyed his commands, who, during the whole of this trying occasion, acted with a coolness and resolution suitable to every emergency, and from the first moment of danger to their leaving the wreck, testified a readiness to obey commands, and an acquiescence in difficulties that could not be exceeded.

Hostilities having ceased, Admiral Graves held no farther naval employment till 1788, at which time he was appointed to the honourable situation of commander-in-chief at Plymouth; previously to which (24th September, 1787), he was advanced to be vice-admiral of the Blue. During the time he retained this command, he superintended the fitting out of the ships ordered to be commissioned on the expected rupture with Spain, on which occasion he had his flag on board the Cambridge.

The war with France in 1793 again called Admiral Graves from that

retirement in which he had indulged since the expiration of his Plymouth command, and he was appointed second in command of the Channel fleet under Lord Howe. On the 12th April, 1794, he was advanced to be admiral of the Blue; and in the glorious action of the 1st June, his conduct throughout was highly conspicuous, and afforded a noble example of skill and discipline, as well as of the most consummate intrepidity. In this brilliant and decided action, Admiral Graves was unfortunately wounded, which, however, did not pass unnoticed or unrewarded, as his Majesty was pleased to raise him to an Irish peerage on the 12th August, as a testimony, to use the words of Mr. Pitt, of his royal approbation of the distinguished services which he had performed: he was also presented with a gold chain and medal, a pension of 1000*l.* and, in common with the other officers of the fleet, received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament. On the 1st June, 1795, he was advanced to be admiral of the White; but did not again hoist his flag, neither do we find his name again mentioned in any way connected with the service.

His lordship married, in 1771, Elizabeth, daughter and coheiress of William Peere Williams, Esq.; and died in February 1802, leaving two sons and three daughters.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL THE HON. ROBERT DIGBY.

IT has been truly said, that men of rank and fortune seldom acquire any eminence in the navy; that it is a sort of life not to be encountered but by men whose situation and circumstances oblige them to adopt a profession, in which by exertion they may hope to rise from mediocrity to affluence and honour; but there is no inducement for a man already in possession of those advantages, to enter into such a way of life. Amongst the few, however, who have spurned the lap of ease and the couch of indolence, to encounter the stormy perils of the ocean, we must rank the Hon. Robert Digby, who was brother to Edward the sixth Lord Digby, and the third son of the Hon. Edward Digby and Charlotte, only surviving daughter of Sir Stephen Fox, Knight, sister to Stephen Earl of Ilchester and Henry Lord Holland. But though he was thus nobly related, he owed his success and advancement to his own individual merit, being always distinguished for zeal, activity, and ardour in the severe duties of his profession; and consequently obtained and enjoyed on all occasions the esteem and confidence of his commanders. His appointment as post-captain bears date August 5, 1755, and his first ship was the Solebay of 24 guns. He, however, did not long continue in that ship, being shortly after transferred to the Biddeford, in which he was employed as a cruiser, and appears to have been tolerably successful, having captured several merchantmen, and small privateers, which were calculated to do considerable damage to the British trade. In the expedition against Rochefort he commanded the Dunkirk of 60 guns; and in the following year he was again employed to cruise in the Channel, when he again captured several merchantmen. On his arrival in port he was put under the orders of Commodore Keppel, and proceeded with him to the attack of Goree, where, by his prompt attention to his commander's signals, and the cool steady fire he kept up against the battery to which he was opposed, he gave the highest satisfaction to the commodore. Having returned from that expedition, he was attached

to the fleet under Sir Edward Hawke, and in the important victory obtained over De Conflans, when British valour and discipline humbled the pride of a presumptuous enemy, his name is recorded amongst those whose examples gave animation to the crews, and decided the issue of the contest.

On Sir Charles Saunders being appointed to the chief command in the Mediterranean, he particularly requested that the Dunkirk might form one of the squadron; and Captain Digby accordingly proceeded to that destination, where he continued during the remainder of the war: but notwithstanding Spain was added to the number of belligerents and to the enemies of England, their fleets did not venture to put to sea; and consequently the British squadron was merely employed in watching their ports, and in protecting the commerce of the country.

In consequence of the peace of 1763, Captain Digby remained for some time unemployed, and of course had no opportunity to farther distinguish himself.

On the 4th April, 1775, he was appointed a colonel of marines; but it was not till the French government determined on supporting the Americans in their revolt against the mother country, that Captain Digby obtained any naval command; on which occasion he was commissioned to the Ramillies of 74 guns, and sailed with Admiral Keppel to watch the enemy's movements in Brest. In the subsequent encounter off Ushant he was warmly engaged, having had twelve men killed and sixteen wounded. He was raised to the rank of rear-admiral of the Blue 19th March, 1779*; and afterwards sat as one of the members of the court-martial for the trial of Sir Hugh Palliser. At the conclusion of the trial, he hoisted his flag on board the Prince George, and served in the Channel fleet under Sir Charles Hardy. A particular mark of honour was now conferred on Admiral Digby, and which proved the high character that he then held: we allude to the circumstance of his Royal Highness Prince William Henry (now Duke of Clarence) being placed under his care and protection, for the purpose of instructing him in the several duties of his profession; and his conduct throughout gave the highest satisfaction to those who had confided to him so important a trust. At the conclusion of the year he was sent out as second in command of the fleet under Sir George Rodney, which sailed for the relief of Gibraltar; and in the defeat of the Spanish squadron under Langara,

* Mr. Beatson erroneously states it to have been on the 29th of the same month.

he was again distinguished for the most judicious conduct, and again claims our admiration and gratitude.

The provisions and stores having been safely landed at Gibraltar, Admiral Digby was directed to take under his orders thirteen sail of the line, with the Spanish prizes, and return to England. He separated from the commander-in-chief on the 18th Feb. and on the 23d of the same month fell in with a French convoy under the protection of two 64-gun ships, two *armée en flute*, and a frigate. A general chase was immediately ordered; but notwithstanding every exertion was made to come up with them, they kept so good a look out, and dispersed so quickly, that only one of the 64-gun ships and three of the convoy were captured. After his return to England, he was attached to the Channel fleet under Admiral Geary, and subsequently under the command of Admiral Darby.

The siege of Gibraltar still continuing, rendered it necessary to send farther reinforcements and supplies for the use of the garrison. These were put under the orders of Admiral Darby, who had with him Admirals Digby and Ross. They arrived at their destination on the 12th April, 1781, without experiencing the slightest obstruction from the enemy. The transports having proceeded into the bay, the body of the fleet continued between the Straits' mouth and Gibraltar, to prevent any attack from the Spanish fleet should they venture out of Cadiz: this, however, was not attempted, and the service being accomplished, the greater part of the fleet returned to England; while Admiral Digby, with ten sail of the line, continued to cruise to the westward, in hopes of falling in with a French squadron under La Mothe Piquet, but who was fortunate enough to effect his return to Brest without meeting with the British squadron.

Admiral Digby was now appointed to the chief command on the American station, and proceeded thither with three sail of the line, taking with him orders for Admiral Graves to go to Jamaica; but on his arrival at New-York, he found the utmost exertions were making for forcing an action with the French fleet in the Chesapeake, and for the relief of the army under Lord Cornwallis. As they could ill afford to part with a ship of the line at such an important crisis, those orders were not put into immediate effect; and in order that the service might not suffer by any sudden change of commanders, Admiral Digby farther consented to act as second to Admiral Graves. The subsequent operations of the squadron, and the fate of the army under Lord Cornwallis,

we have already noticed. That important blow having being struck, the French admiral sailed to the West Indies, whither Admiral Digby dispatched the greater part of the fleet under Sir Samuel Hood. The scene of active operations was now changed, and from the disasters which had befallen the British arms in America, the nation became tired of the contest, and made no farther efforts to obtain the ascendency: consequently the exertions of Admiral Digby were merely directed to the protection of British commerce, and the capture of the enemy's cruisers, several of which fell into his possession.

On the 24th September, 1787, he was made vice-admiral of the Blue; and on the 12th April, 1794, he was farther advanced to be admiral of the same flag. He died in 1814, leaving a high character for professional excellence, undaunted valour, and patriotic worth.

Admiral Digby was married, in August 1784, to Eleanor, daughter of Andrew Elliott, Esq. formerly lieutenant-governor of New-York, and relict of — Jauncy, Esq.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL SIR JOHN LOCKHART ROSS, BART.

THERE are some individuals who, at an early age, exhibit such open and generous countenances, such ardent spirits, such zeal and emulation, that their future greatness is with confidence predicted by the penetrating and observing. So it was with the gentleman who is the subject of the present memoir, and who was a son of Sir John Lockhart of Carstairs. He was born on the 11th November, 1721; and that inclination which induces so many to enter into the naval service of the country having manifested itself at a very early age in his conduct and actions, they were particularly taken notice of by Lord Archibald Hamilton, who at that time visited his parents, and as his lordship undertook to introduce him into the service, they were induced to let him follow the natural propension of his mind. He was accordingly placed as a midshipman on board the Portland of 50 guns, commanded by Captain Osborn, in 1735, being at the time in his fourteenth year. In this ship he sailed to Constantinople, from whence he returned in the following year, with an increased inclination for, and a determination to follow, the profession he had adopted. In 1737, he was placed on board the Diamond of 40 guns, Captain Charles Knowles, who soon after proceeded to the coast of Guinea, and from thence to the West Indies. Here he was attacked with a severe fever and the disorders natural to the climate: he bore up against them for some time, but being greatly reduced, and finding them make great inroads on his constitution, he was under the necessity of returning home. Being restored by his native air to health and spirits, he again returned to the service, and in April 1739 joined the Romney of 50 guns, Captain Medley, then under sailing orders for Newfoundland. Captain Medley having executed his first mission, proceeded to the Mediterranean, and in the beginning of the following year returned to England. Mr. Lockhart's next ship was the Trial sloop, commanded by Captain Frogmore, which was ordered to accompany Commodore Anson to the South Seas; but the captain being promoted to post-rank in the Lively frigate, Mr. Lockhart accompanied him in that vessel,

and afterwards in the Ruby of 50 guns. He now again sailed for the coast of Guinea and Barbadoes, and was again attacked with severe illness, which reduced him to a mere skeleton. Fortunately the Ruby shortly after received orders to return to England, by which Mr. Lockhart was saved to the service and the country.

During this his first period of service, Mr. Lockhart had been fortunate in being placed under officers of great intelligence; and consequently he derived every advantage an industrious and active mind could desire from precept and example. He distinguished himself considerably by the attention he paid to his professional studies, and a zealous and cheerful activity in the execution of his duty; qualities which attracted the attention of his superiors, and as a reward for his assiduity, he was promoted to a lieutenancy in the year 1743. In this situation he served on board several ships and on various stations; but without going into tedious particulars, it will be sufficient to state, that in the capture of the French squadron under Jonquiere, he was second of the Devonshire, on board which Admiral Warren's flag was flying; and that the conduct of the Devonshire was particularly distinguished, which was opposed to the French admiral's ship and the Invincible, and obliged them to surrender. Pursuing the same career of honour, we next find him on board the Vulcan fire-ship, and was present at the glorious victory obtained over De Conflans. At the conclusion of the war, Lieut. Lockhart served on board the Invincible, employed as a guard-ship. In 1752, she sailed in company with the Tiger for Gibraltar, to convey troops to that garrison. On the return of the Invincible to Spithead, Lieutenant Lockhart gave a proof of his coolness and presence of mind: a lighted candle having been carelessly left in the bread-room, which was situated close to the magazine, it communicated to the wood-work and set it on fire; the alarm being given, Lieutenant Lockhart hastened to the spot, and by the most active exertions extinguished the flames just as they had communicated to the rosin.

The Invincible having been paid off in November 1752, Lieutenant Lockhart returned for a while to Scotland, till chance or the recommencement of hostilities should again call forth his exertions in defence of his king and country. Nor was this of a very long continuance: the restless ambition of France prompting her to interfere with the British settlements in North America, the government of England was compelled to arm in defence of her rights, and to resist the insidious attacks

of her enemy. Amongst the first of those who were called forth on that occasion was Lieutenant Lockhart, who was appointed first lieutenant of the Prince of 90 guns, intended for the flag-ship of Lord Anson: he, however, remained but a short time in that situation, being appointed in May 1755 commander of the Savage sloop. In this vessel he was ordered to the westward, and his first cruise was distinguished by the capture of a French West India ship, with a cargo valued at 30,000*l.*

On the 15th March, 1756, he was advanced to the rank of post-captain, and obtained the command of the Tartar of 28 guns. In this ship his exertions were attended with the most brilliant success; indeed, we may say that, for the time he commanded her, it stands unparalleled in naval history. Having been ordered off the Isle of Bas, he fell in with two French frigates, which he brought to action, but they effected their escape into Morlaix. He afterwards fell in with a large privateer (Le Cerf) of 24 guns, which he captured after a sharp action, in which the enemy had 27 men killed. He subsequently captured the Heros of 14 guns, and the Rose of 10 guns; all of which were sent into port. Continuing his cruise, he fell in with Le Grand Giden of 24 guns, which he took after being warmly engaged for some time, during which the enemy had seven men killed. His exertions were so incessant, the time of the crew was so continually occupied in preparation for engagements and capturing the enemy's ships, that he had no time left for keeping a correct account of the expenditure of his stores: he accordingly wrote to the Lords of the Admiralty on the subject, and stated that his officers were better employed as seamen and fighting men than in keeping books; when their lordships, in consideration of the services performed, were pleased to order that the passing of the accounts of Captain Lockhart and his officers should be dispensed with. The year 1757 commenced with the same decisive results as had attended his career in the year preceding. In the month of January he captured the Prince de Soubise, laden with a valuable cargo from Martinique. After which he fell in with the Mont Ozier of 20 9-pounders, which he obliged to surrender. While giving orders to take possession of her, the enemy resumed their quarters, bore down, and attempted to board the Tartar, the crew of which immediately flew to their guns, and made them repent of this treacherous act. The action was renewed with desperate fury, but the enemy was obliged to submit, with the loss of 58 men. Shortly after

this Captain Lockhart became so much indisposed as to be obliged for a short time to relinquish his command*; but being by proper care and attention restored to his health, he proceeded to sea, when another of the enemy's privateers (the Maria of 24 guns) fell into his possession, after a sharp contest. Having repaired his damages, he continued his cruise, and his good fortune still attended him, having captured, after an action of an hour and a quarter's continuance, the Duc d'Acquitaine of 26 guns and 260 men, 50 of whom were killed or wounded; and also the Penelope of 18 guns. In the month of October he captured the Count de Grammont of 28 guns, which was purchased by government, and added to the royal navy. The zeal, activity, and success which had attended Captain Lockhart, naturally raised his professional character to the highest point of popularity, and his very name became a terror to the enemies of his country; but his most brilliant action, and the most decisive proof of his courage and ability, which was to crown all his exertions, still awaited him. The enemy, stung with the loss and disappointment they had received in the capture of so many vessels, fitted out the Melampe frigate of 36 guns and 300 picked men, at Bayonne, for the express purpose of cruising for the Tartar. It is also said that one hundred of the crew were sons of merchants, who had volunteered their services on the occasion, in hopes of participating in the honour of capturing this terror to their trade. Captain Lockhart having proceeded to sea in company with some other ships, was not long in descrying this formidable opponent: pursuit was instantly made, when the Tartar, by her superior sailing, soon ran her companions out of sight, and after a chase of thirty-six hours came up with the enemy. Undaunted by their evident superiority, he brought her to close action, and after a hard contest of three hours, obliged her to strike her colours to a vessel inferior in size, number of guns, weight of metal, and, in short, every thing but the courage and discipline of her crew. Indeed there are very few instances on record wherein the superior skill and valour of British seamen were more eminently conspicuous than on this occasion; and when the whole of these circumstances are taken into consideration, we cannot be surprised at the feeling manifested on the occasion, as the merit displayed in this instance would have been sufficient to establish his reputation, had

* During this period the Tartar was commanded by her first lieutenant, Mr. Baillie, who captured, after a severe action, the Victorieuse of 26 guns; for which he was made a commander, and appointed to the command of her, under the name of the Tartar's Prize.

that not already been assured by former exploits. The merchants in general were fully sensible of the important services he had rendered to the trade of the country, and considering him particularly worthy of their reward and gratitude, they determined to mark their high sense of his abilities by some substantial proof. In this laudable object the corporation of Plymouth took the lead by voting him the freedom of that port, which was presented in a gold box. This was followed by the merchants and underwriters of the city of London presenting to him a beautiful piece of plate, consisting of a cup and salver, of the value of 200 guineas. It was curiously chased, and embossed with the representation of the Tartar and seven privateers; also his own arms, with the following inscription engraved on the salver: " The gift of the two public companies, the Underwriters and Merchants of the city of London, to Captain John Lockhart, commander of the Tartar, for his signal service in supporting the trade by distressing the French privateers."

The merchants of Bristol also presented him with a piece of plate of 100 guineas value, as a token of the esteem in which they held his professional character. But notwithstanding these expressions of regard, and the high opinion which they shew was entertained of his abilities, he does not appear to have received any mark of favour or acknowledgment from the crown; a circumstance which surprises us the more, as his Majesty, during the whole of his long and glorious reign, was ever ready and willing to reward merit wherever it was found.

At the latter end of 1758, he was promoted to the Chatham of 50 guns, and in the beginning of the following year cruised off the coast of France, having under his orders the Venus and Thames, commanded by Captains Harrison and Colby, when they had the good fortune to capture the Arethuse, a French frigate of 36 guns, commanded by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who made a very obstinate defence, and did not strike till the two frigates had closed upon him, and he had sustained a loss of 60 men. In the month of July, Captain Lockhart gave additional proofs of zeal and ability in the bombardment of Havre de Grace, under Admiral Rodney. He was afterwards attached to the squadron under Commodore Duff, and with him shared in the honours obtained over De Conflans by Admiral Hawke. After the action he was ordered to set on fire the Soleil Royal and the Heros, which he effectually performed. He was then placed under the orders of Commodore Keppel, and proceeded to Basque roads, where he continued till

January 1760. Having returned to England, he was appointed to the Bedford of 70 guns, and served under the orders of Admirals Hawke and Boscawen, but without meeting with any farther opportunity of distinguishing himself during the continuance of hostilities.

In consequence of the death of his brother, in 1761, he succeeded to the estate of Balnagown, and took the additional name of Ross. Shortly after which, he was elected M. P. for the united boroughs of Lanark, Linlithgow, Selkirk, and Peebles.

A state of peace now existing, and Captain Ross being unemployed, we have nothing to relate of him in the way of his profession; but his genius and disposition would not allow him to lead an inactive life, while the goodness of his heart gave it the best direction, and he became as renowned in peace as in war. He retired to Balnagown, and gave full scope to his benevolence and patriotism, by encouraging industry and promoting the agricultural arts. "Under his protection the peasantry laboured, were well compensated for their labours, and were happy. The face of the country, as well as the human face, assumed a different aspect; bare mountains became clothed with trees, and the russet heaths with verdure; and while he thus gratified his benevolent and active mind, he very considerably improved his fortune." Mr. Pennant, in his Tour through North Britain, describes Balnagown and the conduct of its noble possessor in the following terms: "Between the friths of Cromarty and Dornock is Balnagown, the seat of a gentleman who has most successfully converted his sword into a ploughshare; who, after a series of disinterested services to his country, by clearing the seas of privateers, the most unprofitable of captures, has applied himself to arts not less deserving of its thanks. He is the best farmer and the greatest planter in the country: his wheat and his turnips shew the one; his plantation of a million of pines the other. It was with great satisfaction that I observed characters of this kind very frequent in North Britain; for during the interval of peace every officer of any patrimony was fond of retiring to it, assumed the farmer without flinging off the gentleman, enjoyed rural quiet, yet ready to undergo the fatigue of war the moment his country claimed his services." The dispute with America, and the war with France and Spain, having changed the peaceful state of the country into a most terrific war, which, in its consequences, threatened destruction to the very existence of the nation, Captain Lockhart Ross was called from this scene of pleasure and retirement for one, if not more

active, at least more perilous, to renew those feats of valour and enterprize by which he had acquired so much honour and reputation. Being appointed to the Shrewsbury of 74 guns, he sailed with Admiral Keppel off the French coast, and was consequently in the action of the 27th July, and appears to have been very briskly engaged with the enemy.

About this time Captain Lockhart succeeded, through the death of his brother, to the baronetcy of the family, and to the estate of Carstairs.

On the 19th of March, 1779, he was raised to the rank of rear-admiral of the Blue, and hoisted his flag on board the Royal George. In this ship he sailed with Sir Charles Hardy to oppose the combined fleets of France and Spain, but no encounter took place. A report being spread that the enemy had attacked the Island of Guernsey, Sir John Lockhart Ross shifted his flag to the Romney of 50 guns, and sailed to its relief, accompanied by some other ships and vessels; but the report proving unfounded, he returned to Spithead. Having rehoisted his flag on board the Royal George, he received orders to put himself under the command of Sir George Rodney, with whom he sailed for the relief of Gibraltar, and of course assisted in the capture of the Spanish convoy on the 8th January, and the defeat of Langara on the 16th. The relief of Gibraltar having been accomplished, Sir John returned to England with Admiral Digby and the greater part of the fleet, which, on their progress, captured a ship of 64 guns, and three vessels laden with military stores; by which circumstance near 100,000*l.* was shared amongst the captors. In the month of June he sailed with the Channel fleet under Admiral Geary, and in the following month captured fourteen French West India ships, valued at 120,000*l.*

The garrison of Gibraltar being again reduced to extremity, preparations were made for sending them the necessary supplies, the forwarding of which was intrusted to Admiral Darby, who had under him Rear-Admirals Digby and Sir John Lockhart Ross. The object of this expedition was rendered of a very precarious nature, from the preparations of the enemy to dispute their passage, and from their exertions to reduce the place before it could be relieved. The enemy, however, did not venture to risk an action with the British fleet, but they prepared a number of gun and mortar-boats, with which they threatened to destroy the victuallers on their arrival in the bay; and which they attempted to do, so that it became necessary to send in four or five two-decked ships, with some frigates, for their protection: this service was in-

trusted to Sir John Lockhart Ross, who shifted his flag into the Alexander. The appearance of this force, however, did not deter the enemy from making the attempt, and from the construction of their boats, they were enabled to do so with considerable advantage: they were worked by twenty oars, and carried a long 26-pounder in their bow, which carried farther than any of the ships' guns could reach. They took advantage of the morning calm to commence their attack, and as their prows only were exposed to view, the object was so small, that when they did venture within reach, there was scarcely a possibility of hitting them; and though they were immediately pursued on the springing up of a breeze, every effort to cut off their retreat was ineffectual. This vexatious mode of warfare continued during the six days the transports were unloading, but by the judicious arrangements of Sir John, and the constant watching that was kept up, the enemy was foiled in his grand object. The whole of the stores being landed, Sir John rejoined the admiral, and received his thanks for the indefatigable attention he had shewn during the whole proceedings.

During the short remaining period of the war, Sir John continued actively employed in the service of his country, and at its conclusion retired to his seat in Scotland, where he continued to display all those eminent private virtues which he possessed, beloved and respected by all who knew him; and at his death, which occurred on the 9th June, 1790*, his name was cherished by every poor man in his neighbourhood, and by every lover of his country.

We cannot conclude this article better than by quoting the words of the writer in the *Naval Chronicle*, who, we are informed, was a member of Sir John's family, and of course well acquainted with his character.

" Here closed the professional career of Sir John Lockhart Ross; and when we consider his zeal, his activity, his uncommon ardour in the prosecution of all the severe duties of his profession, with the great benefits which the commercial interests reaped from his exertions, he must be allowed to rank with the first naval characters of his country. His coolness and intrepidity in the hour of battle were never surpassed; and in the course of a long and active service, to fight and to conquer were alike habitual to him. That he was a rigid disciplinarian did not arise from a sternness of character or a love of power, for he was gentle in

* On the 24th September, 1787, he was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral of the Blue.

his nature, and possessed all the mild qualities of humanity; but from a sense of his duty, and a knowledge of what discipline has ever done, and will ever do, in the British navy. Besides, he was respected and beloved by all the officers and men who served under him, as he never failed to combine the manners of a gentleman with the feelings of a man. Several of the brave seamen who had fought under his banners, when their public services were no longer required, retired, under his protection, to rural situations allowed them by his care and attention.

"To return to the private character of this worthy man, many anecdotes occur, which will be considered in the historic page as deserving of emulation, and truly characteristic of all that is good and noble. There being a total failure of all means of subsistence, in consequence of a severe frost in the middle of the summer of 1782, which was a fatal and distressing year to the peasantry in North Britain, many of the Highlanders being reduced to the greatest want, were obliged to emigrate with their families to the low country, and settle as day-labourers or domestic servants. Sir John Lockhart Ross, which does him the highest credit, sent, to be distributed to the sufferers on his own estates, a seasonable and bountiful supply of large quantities of peas, barley, flour, and potatoes, to which godlike beneficence many hundreds owed their lives. Let it be added, that he ordered his factor or steward to give to his Highland tenants, who did not save as much as would sow their grounds, seeds from his farm in the low country, where the failure was not so great as in the Highlands; and at the conclusion of the war, upon his return to his native country, he discounted one-third of the arrears of rent over the whole of his estate. Such actions demonstrate the man and the hero, and make us proud of the country which has given birth to many such illustrious characters."

Sir John married Miss Elizabeth Baillie of Lamington, eldest daughter of Robert Dundas, Esq. Lord President of the Court of Sessions, by whom he had five sons and three daughters.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL LORD BRIDPORT.

OF all those families whose names so often appear in the naval annals of the country, there are none more distinguished for bravery, enterprize, and maritime skill than the Hoods, whose exertions have been attended with more success, or have in consequence received greater honours and rewards.

The truly veteran and distinguished officer who is the subject of the present memoir, was the second son of the Rev. Samuel Hood, vicar of Butleigh in Somersetshire, and rector of Thorncombe in Devonshire. He received the principal part of his education under the immediate eye of his father, and it of course was such as became his birth and promising talents. Having, at an early age, evinced a strong predilection for a naval life, it was cherished and cultivated accordingly; and at a proper season, he entered into that profession, of which he afterwards became so distinguished an ornament.

The first ship he embarked on board of was the Romney of 50 guns, commanded by Captain Smith, and from the first displayed abilities, not only for gaining honour and renown in the particular profession he had adopted, but such qualifications as ensure celebrity to the possessor, in whatever rank or station he might be placed. These being the general traits of his character, he attained the rank of lieutenant on the 2d December, 1746, in which situation he served under Sir Charles Saunders on board the Prince of 98 guns; and by a strict perseverance in the conduct he had hitherto pursued, he not only established his own reputation, but gained the esteem and friendship of those serving in equal rank, and secured the confidence of his superiors. He consequently was soon promoted to the rank of commander. In this situation, however, we do not find that he had any opportunity to display those abilities, which every one who knew him acknowledged that he possessed, and it was not till after he attained post-rank, which took place on the 10th June, 1756, that the long-wished-for opportunity presented itself. Having been appointed to the Antelope of 50 guns, he sailed on a cruise

off the coast of France. On the 13th May, three sail were discovered to windward, two of which appeared to be frigate-built ships. Captain Hood having hoisted French colours, the largest stood towards him; but when within two miles distance, these colours were hauled down, and the English hoisted in their stead. The enemy now made off, but being pursued with all sail, she was shortly afterwards brought to action, which continued without intermission for an hour and twenty minutes, at the end of which time Captain Hood found the breakers so close under his lee, that he had not room to wear, and could scarcely steer clear of the enemy, who in going about, struck on the rocks, and carried away her mizen-mast. Captain Hood having stood off to repair damages, returned to complete her destruction, but found that business already effected, as she had drifted over a ridge of rocks in Audierne Bay, where she went to pieces. Captain Hood afterwards learned that the enemy's ship was the Acquilon, of the same force as the Antelope. In this action, the Antelope had only 3 men killed and 13 wounded; while the loss on board the enemy consisted of 30 killed and 25 wounded.

To compensate in some degree for the unfortunate circumstance of not being able to bring the enemy's ship into port, Captain Hood captured, on the 25th, a very fine privateer of 16 guns.

In 1758, Captain Hood removed into the St. George of 90 guns, bearing the flag of Admiral Sir Charles Saunders, commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, and of course shared in the honour derived from the defeat of the French squadron under Du Quesne, beyond which we have no particulars relating to him during his continuance on this station worthy of record. Having returned to England with the admiral, he shortly after was appointed to the Minerva frigate, and attached to the Channel fleet, from which, in 1759, he was detached under the orders of Commodore Duff, to watch the enemy's motions in the Morbihan, and was consequently present at the glorious defeat of the French squadron by Admiral Hawke.

Subsequent to that memorable event, we have no farther account of him till 1761, which year forms a most brilliant period in his history, and commenced with his capturing the Escurial, a privateer of 14 guns and 120 men. Continuing his cruise, on the 23d of the same month he fell in with a large sail, to which he immediately gave chase, and soon made her out to be a ship of two decks. Undismayed, however, by the formidable appearance and apparent superiority of the enemy, he continued

the pursuit, and about half-past ten got along side of her, when a close and warm engagement took place. The fire on both sides was excessive, the effects of which soon became manifest in the disabled condition of both ships. About eleven o'clock, the main and fore-top-masts of the enemy were shot away, and she fell on board the Minerva on the larboard bow; but there being a heavy sea, they soon parted, and she fell astern. In about a quarter of an hour after, the Minerva's bowsprit went away, and was soon followed by the fore-mast. From these unfortunate circumstances, Captain Hood almost despaired of being able to renew the action; it was the critical period, and any relaxation of duty, any want of spirit, any delay in the execution of orders, would inevitably have placed the enemy beyond his reach. Captain Hood instantly ordered the wreck to be cut away, which being effected, he wore ship, and again stood for his opponent, who was then about three leagues to leeward. About four o'clock, he again got within gun-shot, and the fight was renewed and maintained with the most determined spirit and resolution till a quarter-past five, when the enemy's fire slackened, and shortly after she struck her colours. She proved to be the Warwick, pierced for 60 guns (formerly in the English service, and the capture of which had caused the highest exultation to the enemy, having boasted of it in every court of Europe), but at the time of her recapture had only 34 mounted, with a crew of 300 men. About nine o'clock, the main-mast of the Minerva fell over the side, and the mizen-mast soon followed it, leaving her little better than a wreck: through the great exertions, however, of officers and men, she was conducted safely into port, bringing in her train the captured enemy.

On Captain Hood's arrival in London, he was presented by Lord Anson to his Majesty, who was graciously pleased to express the high sense he entertained of his courage and abilities, and his thanks for the recent display of them.

In the month of August he received an appointment to assist in conveying her Majesty Queen Charlotte to England; after which he was commissioned to the Africa of 60 guns, in which he was ordered to the Mediterranean, again serving under the orders of his old friend and patron, Sir C. Saunders.

Subsequent to the cessation of hostilities, he was appointed to the Thunderer of 74 guns, stationed as a guard-ship at Portsmouth; and at

the expiration of the time usually allotted to such commands, he held the honourable situation of commander of the Catharine yacht*.

Sir Charles Saunders having resigned the treasurership of Greenwich Hospital, and thereby caused a vacancy in that office, Captain Hood was immediately appointed to succeed him.

Few incidents of an interesting nature can be expected to take place in the life of a naval officer during a period of peace; and accordingly Captain Hood does not again come under our notice till 1778, when he was appointed to the Robust of 74 guns, fitted for the Channel service. In this ship he proceeded with Admiral Keppel off the coast of France, and was consequently present at the memorable encounter with the French fleet on the 27th July, and continued acting under his orders till the conclusion of the campaign, when he thought proper to resign the command of the Robust, and retire for a time into private life.

On the 26th September, 1780, he was raised to the rank of rear-admiral of the White; and on the change of ministry in 1782, he was appointed to command a division of the grand fleet fitted out for the relief of Gibraltar, under the chief command of Lord Howe. In the encounter with the combined fleet which took place on that occasion, the Queen, Admiral Hood's ship, owing to the caution of the enemy, had very little share, and consequently sustained a very trifling loss.

In 1784, he was chosen to represent the borough of Bridgewater in Parliament. On the 24th September†, 1787, he was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral of the White; and on the 7th May, in the following year, he was invested with the Order of the Bath. On the apprehended rupture with Spain in 1790, he hoisted his flag on board the London of 90 guns; but the circumstances which gave rise to that armament having been amicably arranged, the fleet was immediately dismantled, and Sir Alexander of course struck his flag.

In consequence of the death of Admiral Digby, he succeeded that gentleman as rear-admiral of England; and on the promotion of flag-officers on the 1st February, 1793, he was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral of the Red. The British government having found it necessary to equip a sufficient force to defend the honour and interests of the coun-

* Mr. Charnock states, that after he quitted the Thunderer, he was appointed to the Romney, and commanded on the American station; but he has here confounded the two brothers, as it was Captain S. Hood who held that situation.

† The *Naval Chronicle* erroneously states it to have been on the 4th.

try, in consequence of the disturbance existing in France, Sir Alexander's abilities were still farther acknowledged by his being appointed to command a division of the Channel fleet under Lord Howe. On the 12th April, 1794, he was advanced to be admiral of the Blue; and in the actions of the 1st June and preceding days, he bore a conspicuous share: his conduct throughout was marked by the greatest gallantry and intrepidity, which called forth the strongest marks of approbation from the commander-in-chief. The Royal George, on board which his flag was flying, suffered severely on that occasion, having lost her fore-mast and main-top-mast, and was otherwise considerably damaged: in men her loss was in proportion, being 92 killed and wounded.

In the honours bestowed for the display of valour and skill in these actions, Admiral Hood stood in the first rank, having received the gold chain and medal, with the thanks of both Houses of Parliament; and on the 12th August he was raised by his Majesty to an Irish peerage, by the title of Baron Bridport. The reader cannot fail to observe with satisfaction this mark of attention to one who deserved so well of his country; while those who are employed in the same honourable profession will feel an additional stimulus to their exertions in finding desert and service so faithfully rewarded.

His lordship continued to hold the same command in the Channel fleet during the remainder of the year; but the enemy were too much dismayed after their recent disaster, to send another squadron to sea during that period, and he accordingly had no farther opportunity to display his zeal and abilities.

In the following year his lordship was intrusted with the command of fourteen sail of the line off the French coast; and notwithstanding the naval power of France had been greatly reduced by the engagements which had already taken place, she fitted out another squadron, and the energies of his lordship's mind were shortly after again called into action. On the 22d June he had the good fortune to discover an enemy's fleet, consisting of twelve ships of the line, two of 50 guns, and several frigates. Perceiving that the enemy did not indicate any intention to fight, but, on the contrary, used their utmost endeavours to escape, orders were immediately given for a general chase, which continued the whole day and ensuing night, without any of the pursuers being able to get within gunshot of the enemy. On the following morning the six headmost ships of the British squadron gained considerably on the chase;

and about six o'clock, the Orion, Captain Saumarez, the Irresistible, Captain Grindall, and the Queen Charlotte, Captain Sir Andrew Douglas, began to engage. These were soon followed by the Russell, Sans Pareil, and Colossus. On the coming up of the Royal George, Lord Bridport's ship, she ran along side the Tigre, and having, after a few well-directed broadsides, obliged her to haul down her colours, his lordship pursued the French admiral in a three-decked ship, which he also brought to action; but as the enemy then began to draw near the shore, the pilot refused to continue in charge of the ship*. The gallant admiral, however, still continued the engagement, and pressed the enemy with the utmost vigour; but finding the squadron in some danger from the batteries, and still more so from the narrow channel within the Isle of Groa, which was unknown to his lordship, he reluctantly ceased firing; but found his spirited exertions rewarded by the capture of three sail of the line†, which, however, were not brought off without considerable difficulty, owing to their disabled state and the contiguity of the shore, joined to a strong gale of wind coming right in soon after the action.

The energy, the ardour, and the exertions he had displayed during the time he held the command of the squadron, but more particularly the zeal and ability he had evinced in the pursuit of the enemy, whereby he was enabled to bring them to action, fighting them on their own shores, and the glorious termination of the contest, secured to him the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and the gratitude of the nation.

On the 15th March, 1796, he was honoured with the civil appointment of vice-admiral of Great Britain; and on the 31st May following, was advanced to an English peerage, by the same style and title he had hitherto held.

In 1797 his lordship was appointed to the chief command of the Channel fleet. In the distressing circumstances which shortly after took place, circumstances into which we do not consider it our province here to enter (the spirit of insubordination then prevalent in the British navy), the conduct of his lordship was commensurate with the high opinion

* It is greatly to be regretted that Lord Bridport was not supplied with more skilful pilots, who could have carried the squadron nearer the enemy, and prevented them from entering the port of L'Orient. Had that been the case, no doubt the whole, or nearly the whole, of the French squadron would either have been destroyed or captured, as the passage is very narrow, and can be entered only by one ship at a time, and that at slack water and a flowing tide.

† Tigre, Formidable, and Alexandre, of 74 guns each.

entertained of his probity, sound judgment, and discretion, giving equal satisfaction to the government and complainants; the latter calling him their father and their friend, and the former intrusting to him the redress of grievances, and his Majesty's pardon for what had passed. In 1799, he was appointed lieutenant-general of marines. His lordship continued in the command of the Channel fleet till the year 1800, after which he never took upon himself any farther command. On the 10th June, 1801, his lordship was farther advanced to the dignity of a viscount of Great Britain; previous to which he was made general of marines. His lordship died May 2, 1814, without issue, at the advanced age of eighty-seven.

In his private character it has always been declared, that he was modest and unassuming, disinterested and upright in all his transactions, and though somewhat reserved, was gentle, kind, and affable. Of his public character, conduct, and services, the reader will be able to form an opinion from the foregoing sketch: the glory he obtained for the country, the honour he acquired for himself, and the rewards bestowed upon him, all prove him worthy of being ranked amongst the most distinguished naval officers of Britain.

His lordship was twice married, first to Mary, daughter of Richard West, Prebendary of Winchester, and niece to Lord Cobham, by which marriage Captain Hood became related to the Pitt and Littleton families; and secondly to Mary Sophia, only daughter of Thomas Bray, Esq. of Edmonton.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL SIR CHALONER OGLE, BART.

THIS gentleman's family is regularly descended from the Barons Ogle of Northumberland. His uncle was likewise an admiral in the British navy, and obtained great reputation for his judicious, brave, and seaman-like conduct while in command of the Swallow in April 1722, by the capture of the notorious pirate Roberts and his whole squadron, consisting of one ship of 40 guns, one of 32, and one of 24, for which he received the honour of knighthood.

It frequently happens, not only in the navy, but in other professions, that when a name of celebrity has been obtained by any part of a family, that an anxiety exists in the younger branches to maintain it; so that succeeding generations might tread in each other's footsteps, follow them in their glorious career, and rest not till they have attained the summit of their ambition. Thus it was with the object of this memoir, who was born about the year 1738; and having early shewn very great talent and acuteness of mind, his uncle became particularly attached to him, and persuaded his father to let him accompany him to sea. Under such auspices, joined to his own naturally good understanding, he made great progress in the theoretical part of his profession; and having passed through his probationary service, he was made a lieutenant in November 1745; but he had no opportunity to display his character and talents till after the commencement of the war with France in 1755, when he was raised to the rank of post-captain (30th June, 1756), and to command the Yarmouth. In 1759, he commanded the Aquilon, which composed one of the squadron stationed in the Downs under Sir Piercy Brett; and in the following year he was placed under the orders of Sir Edward Hawke. Whilst in this ship he acquired great reputation for activity and zeal. Being employed as a cruiser, he protected the trade of England, and destroyed that of her opponents; he asserted the rights of the British flag, and made it respected by her enemies. In 1761, his success in cruising against the privateers of the enemy was conspicuous; but though, from the inequality of their strength when compared to the

Aquilon, their capture could not confer any particular honour on Captain Ogle, or enhance his character for talent and bravery, it was of the most essential service in protecting the extensive commerce of England, and laid the merchants under a debt of gratitude to him for the vigour of his exertions and the active spirit he displayed. In the month of January, he captured the privateer Sainte Terèse of 10 guns, and also one of inferior force. In the following month he took the Count de Grammont of 20 guns, and in March the Zephyr of 12 guns fell into his possession, all of which he brought safely into port. His success, however, did not rest here: he again proceeded to sea, and in July captured another of the enemy's cruisers, the Aurora of 10 guns. Continuing on this service, he fell in with a frigate-built ship, to which chase was immediately given, and from her appearance, great honour was expected to result from her capture: in this particular, however, Captain Ogle was disappointed, for though she proved a valuable prize, being laden with coffee and pepper from the Mauritius, she had only 16 guns mounted, and of course made little or no resistance. In 1762, Captain Ogle was employed under the orders of Commodore Spray in preventing the enemy from sending any reinforcements to the West Indies, their colonies in that quarter being then attacked by Admiral Rodney; but the commodore having been driven from his station off Brest, the enemy availed themselves of his absence to effect their escape, which being ascertained, Captain Ogle was sent to apprise Admiral Rodney of the circumstance, and to put him on his guard. Captain Ogle's name does not again occur in our naval annals till 1770, when he was appointed to the Elizabeth of 74 guns, and also received the honour of knighthood. In 1774, he commanded the Resolution, stationed as a guard-ship at Portsmouth; but towards the end of the year 1777 and the beginning of 1778, as the British government was convinced of the hostile views of France, and that naval armaments were fitting out at Toulon and Brest, Captain Ogle was placed under the orders of Admiral Keppel, though he does not appear to have been present at the encounter with the French fleet off Ushant; but he sat as one of the members of the court-martial for the trial of Sir Hugh Palliser.

The next interesting notice, and the most important in this gentleman's life, was at the commencement of the year 1780. Having accompanied Sir George Rodney for the relief of Gibraltar, he of course assisted in the capture of the Spanish Caraccas squadron, and also shared

in the honours derived from the defeat and capture of the squadron under Langara. In this latter service, the Resolution, from her being sheathed with copper and her superior sailing, was one of the first ships in action, and to whose well-directed fire the Princessa of 70 guns struck her colours. This, however, was not all: the object of the expedition having been attained, the greater part of the fleet was returning to England under the command of Admiral Digby, when, on the 23d Feb. they had the good fortune to fall in with an enemy's squadron bound to the Mauritius, laden with warlike stores, which was instantly pursued. About one o'clock Captain Ogle came up with the Prothée of 64 guns, and carrying the commodore's pendant: after a sharp action of about half an hour, he obliged her to surrender, the Resolution not having lost a man. The Prothée had on board money to the amount of 60,000*l.* and some of the crew, thinking they had now a right to help themselves, broke open one of the chests, and plundered it before Captain Ogle's people could get on board: fortunately, however, it was discovered before the prisoners left the ship, when they were all searched, and nearly the whole of it restored.

On the 13th July, he accompanied Admiral Graves to America, from whence he proceeded to the West Indies with Sir George Rodney; but having been appointed rear-admiral of the Blue on the 26th September following, and as there was a sufficient number of flag-officers on that station, he was recalled from thence, and does not appear to have been again employed. On the 24th September, 1787, he was made vice-admiral of the Blue, and on the 12th April, 1794, admiral of the same flag.

Sir Chaloner died in 1816, aged seventy-eight, having been created a baronet of Great Britain in the month of January of the same year. He married Miss Esther Thomas, youngest daughter of the Bishop of Winchester, by whom he had several children.

Although, from the circumstance of his early entrance into the navy, Sir Chaloner Ogle was deprived of those advantages arising from education which others in different situations of life so amply possess, he never failed to improve those leisure hours which his profession furnished him with, by study, by cultivating a knowledge of different languages, and by reading deeply; so that he was considered by learned men to possess a considerable degree of classical knowledge, and certainly very superior understanding; but withal, was a person of free and pleasurable life, amiable manners, and of cool but intrepid courage.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL SIR FRANCIS SAMUEL DRAKE, BART.

AMONGST the numerous list of officers who are candidates for naval renown, it is impossible all can attain that celebrity to which every one aspires; and even those who succeed in some degree in the object of their wishes, are doomed to pass through years of anxious vigilance and useful diligence, without the occurrence of any hostile encounter which is conducive to their own personal distinction: a circumstance which is fully exemplified in the life of Sir F. S. Drake, who entered at an early age into the British navy; but so totally silent are all notices respecting him, that it is not till after his promotion to the rank of post-captain, which took place on the 15th November, 1756, that we have any accounts respecting him. He was then appointed to the Biddeford, but the same want of opportunity to distinguish himself still continued to attend him. In 1759, he commanded the Falkland of 50 guns, and was placed under the orders of Commodore Duff; and was consequently present at the victory obtained by Sir E. Hawke over the French squadron commanded by De Conflans. In the spring of the following year, he proceeded to Quebec with Commodore Swanton; and in 1761, joined Sir James Douglas in the West Indies, where he continued during the remainder of the war, participating in the honour derived from the reduction of the enemy's colonies by Sir George Rodney. In 1772, he commanded the Torbay, stationed at Plymouth, which, in the following year, formed one of the ships reviewed by his Majesty at Spithead. In 1778, he was appointed captain of the Russell, and in June he sailed from Spithead in company with Admiral Byron for America. We have already detailed the unfortunate dispersion of this fleet, and the consequent ill success which attended it. The Russell was obliged to put back, having sustained considerable damage. In December following, he was placed under the orders of Lord Shuldham, who was directed to escort the East and West India fleets, and some reinforcements under Commodore Rowley, part of their voyage. Two days after their sailing from Spithead, the Russell unfortunately ran foul of the London East India ship, by

which accident the London received so much damage, that she sunk in half an hour, and about 100 of her crew perished. The Russell also sustained so much damage as to oblige her to return to Portsmouth, where Captain Drake afterwards sat as one of the members of the court-martial for the trial of Admiral Keppel. The beginning of May he sailed with Admiral Arbuthnot for America, and proceeded with him to the attack of Charlestown; but as it was found impracticable to use the large ships, Captain Drake returned to New-York, and took upon him the command of that port. The duties of this station, however, he fulfilled but for a very short period, having received orders to proceed to the West Indies to join Sir George Rodney; but he did not arrive in time to join in either of the skirmishes which took place on that station during that year. On the 26th September, he was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the Blue, and hoisted his flag on board the Princessa of 80 guns, but afterwards shifted it to the Gibraltar of the same force. In the beginning of the following year, he accompanied Sir George to St. Eustatia, and was afterwards detached with Sir Samuel Hood to intercept the French fleet off Martinique; and in the action which then took place, the Gibraltar was one of the few ships which were particularly engaged, and in which he displayed the utmost gallantry and perseverance. His services during the remainder of the campaign being interwoven with those of Sir George Rodney, and as we have fully stated them in our memoir of that officer, it is unnecessary to allude to them farther than by stating, that he executed the trust reposed in him with the greatest ability; and that he discharged the various duties which he was desired to carry into effect, in such a way as to confer the highest reputation on himself, and to secure the friendship and approbation of the distinguished officer under whom he acted. In the course of the year, Admiral Drake appears to have removed his flag a second time to the Princessa, as we find him on board that ship in the fleet which accompanied Sir Samuel Hood to America, in hopes of counteracting the plans of the enemy in that quarter. In the action with De Grasse off the Chesapeake, he commanded the van of the British fleet, and used his utmost exertions to bring on a close and decisive action. In this engagement, the Princessa lost her main-top-mast, and had 17 men killed and wounded. At the close of the year, Admiral Drake returned to the West Indies with Sir Samuel Hood, and again claims our attention for the gallantry and intrepidity he displayed during the attacks made by the

enemy on the British fleet on the 25th and 26th January, 1782. It was, however, on the glorious 12th April that Admiral Drake gained the highest renown, and crowned his gallant exertions with never-fading laurels. "Accident threw in his way a glorious opportunity, and he took all the means in his power to improve it." He commanded the van division, and his conduct throughout was marked with the utmost coolness, courage, and intrepidity.

"Of the honours deservedly dispensed on that occasion, Admiral Drake participated, being created a baronet of Great Britain, by patent, bearing date May 28, 1782. He continued in the West Indies till the end of the war, serving under Admiral Pigot, the successor to Sir George Rodney, in the same station as we have before commemorated him as holding with so much honour both to himself and his country: peace, however, approaching, all naval operations grew torpid. After his return to England, he never accepted any command in the line of his profession as an officer. On the 24th September, 1787, he was advanced to be rear-admiral of the Red; and at the general election in 1789, he was elected representative in Parliament for the town of Plymouth: he was, moreover, on the 12th August, appointed one of the commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral. This, however, he unhappily did not long survive, dying, much lamented, on the 19th October following."

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL RICHARD KEMPENFELT.

THIS celebrated individual was the son of a Swedish gentleman, who spent his life in the British service, first under King James II. in whose fortune he in some degree participated, having followed him to the Continent; but his well-known character secured to him an invitation to return, and subsequently he was induced to accept a colonel's commission from Queen Anne, whom he continued to serve with the utmost fidelity to the day of her death. His private character was so amiable, that he is affirmed to have been the identical Captain Sentry so admirably depicted by Addison in the *Spectator*. He died in the reign of George I. being at the time lieutenant-governor of the Island of Jersey, leaving two sons and two daughters. Many of the fine qualities of the father descended to his children: Richard, who is the subject of this memoir, was brave, kind, generous, and humane; gentle, modest, and unassuming. He was born at Westminster, in October 1718, and from his infancy was destined for the naval service of his country: accordingly, at the early age of ten years he entered on the toils of the profession; but owing to a want of opportunities to display his talents, he did not meet with that early promotion which we have observed in others, and it was not till the 14th January, 1741, that he obtained a lieutenant's commission. In this situation he appears to have remained for a still longer period, without having his name connected with any one circumstance of interest or importance. In 1756, he was made master and commander; but still the same dull routine of service attended him. His abilities, however, were now known, his worth was duly appreciated, and on the 17th January following, he was promoted to post-rank, and to command the Elizabeth of 64 guns, as Captain to Commodore Stevens, who was under orders to proceed to the East Indies. The first action in which he was concerned was on the 28th April following, between Admiral Pocock and M. d'Aché, and he was highly commended for the skill displayed in working his ship, and the support he afforded to the commander-in-chief. In the subsequent action of the 3d August, the Elizabeth was ordered

to lead the squadron, and her commander is again recorded as having by his example materially contributed to the success of the day. At this period, however, the enemy were making rapid strides by land, and towards the close of the year laid siege to Madras. To convoy supplies to the garrison, and afford assistance to the besieged, Captain Kempenfelt removed into the Queenborough frigate, and arrived at Madras on the 16th February, 1759, at a most critical period, the enemy having taken measures for firing the Black Town. But the moment M. Lally perceived the Queenborough, he raised the siege, leaving behind him forty pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of stores and ammunition. Captain Kempenfelt immediately landed the troops, which were sent off in pursuit of the enemy.

Commodore Stevens having been raised to the rank of rear-admiral, hoisted his flag on board the Grafton of 68 guns, and Captain Kempenfelt was again appointed to act as his captain; and in the third and last action fought under Admiral Pocock, in September 1759, he gave additional proofs of his courage and abilities, animated the crew by his example, and gave vigour to their exertions. The Grafton was first opposed to the Zodiac, M. d'Aché's ship, but being closely followed by the Yarmouth, he left that ship and engaged along side the Vengeur, which he beat out of the line; after which he engaged at one time the Minotaur and Duc d'Orleans, till they set sail. Admiral Pocock having returned to Europe, and the command of the squadron devolving on Admiral Stevens, he hoisted his flag on board the Norfolk; and as he had found from experience the great assistance he derived from the professional abilities of Captain Kempenfelt, he requested him to take the command of that ship, in which situation he continued till the death of his commander, sharing his dangers and participating in his honours. Rear-Admiral Cornish having assumed the chief command, removed into the Norfolk, and continued Captain Kempenfelt in the command. In the attack on Manilla, he was again foremost in the fight, superintending the debarkation of the troops, and by the most active exertions and judicious conduct greatly increased his professional reputation. To his services on this occasion, General Draper bore ample testimony, by appointing him governor of Cavite, and by the following notice of him in his public dispatches:

"As a small acknowledgment of the great services which the whole army has received from Captain Kempenfelt, the admiral's captain, I beg-

ged he would act at Cavite, with a commission as governor for his Majesty, being assured that no one could discharge that trust with more conduct and abilities." This appointment, however, was only a mark of honour and respect, and he held it but for a short time. Admiral Cornish, in hopes of its being attended with a more substantial reward, selected him to carry his dispatches to England, and in his letter to the Admiralty bore the following testimony of his character:

"Captain Kempenfelt, by whom I send this, has been of the greatest assistance to me during the course of this enterprize; his great merit makes it my duty to recommend him as a very able and good officer." On his arrival, he met with a most gracious reception from his Majesty, but being disappointed in obtaining promotion, he returned to the East Indies, and resumed his situation as first captain to Admiral Cornish. The state of the war, however, did not allow of any farther operations by which Captain Kempenfelt could add to his reputation, and peace having shortly after taken place, he returned to England.

Captain Kempenfelt appears to have been indefatigable in his pursuits after professional knowledge, suffering no occasion to pass wherein he could obtain any useful information. During the continuance of peace he went to France, but unlike some individuals who visit that country, spending their time in the interior in dissipation and pleasure, he made surveys of their coasts, examined their harbours, and studied their mode and practice of ship-building, which afterwards proved of the most essential service to him, and greatly added to his character and reputation.

During the dispute with Spain relative to the Falkland Islands, he was called into active service, and appointed to the Buckingham of 70 guns; but as hostilities did not ensue, he was again placed upon half-pay, and for a time enjoyed the company of his friends and relations, and was alike distinguished for benevolence and hospitality. From this retirement, however, he was called in 1778, when the conduct of the Bourbon government of France rendered it necessary for this country, in vindication of its honour, rights, and privileges, to commence hostilities. On that occasion, he was appointed to the Alexander of 74 guns; and at the commencement of 1779, sat as one of the members of the court-martial for the trial of Sir Hugh Palliser. Shortly after which he was appointed captain of the Channel fleet, under Sir Charles Hardy*. On

* Lord Sandwich made the offer of captain of the fleet to that excellent officer, Captain, afterwards Admiral Elliott, who nobly replied, that he thought Captain Kempen-

the 26th September following, he at last obtained the honour of a flag, being raised to the rank of rear-admiral of the Blue. But notwithstanding this elevation, he continued to do the duties of captain of the fleet; and when it is recollected what those duties are, that in the performance of them every professional and amiable quality is called into action, it may be doubted whether any one was better able to fill the situation, with credit to themselves and satisfaction to others, than Captain Kempenfelt: an opinion which appears to have been generally entertained, for on the death of Sir Charles Hardy, he was solicited to hold the appointment under Admiral Geary*; and on the resignation of the latter, he still continued to perform its duties under Admiral Darby.

Towards the end of the year, he hoisted his flag on board the Victory of 100 guns, and as the enemy were busily employed in fitting out convoys for the relief of their squadrons in the East and West Indies, he was ordered to sea with twelve sail of the line, in hopes of intercepting them. This he accomplished on the 12th December, but from the great superiority of the enemy, who had nineteen sail of the line, he was unable to make that use of it which he anxiously hoped and expected. The weather at the time was very tempestuous, but having the weather-gage,

felt the best qualified for that important station, as he conceived him to be the most experienced, and better acquainted with the mode of manœuvring a fleet than any other officer in the service; adding, that he was not sure but the captain had reason to be disgusted at having been so long neglected.—The *Naval Chronicle* has erroneously attributed this noble act of generosity to Sir John Jervis.

* During the time he remained with Admiral Geary, a whimsical anecdote is related of him. On the 3d July, they fell in with a fleet of twenty-one sail, and instant chase was given to them. Admiral Kempenfelt was universally and most deservedly esteemed one of the bravest and best officers in the service, as to the management and requisite mode of manœuvring a large fleet previous to the commencement and during the continuance of an action itself; but in the attainment of this universally acknowledged and valuable qualification, he had contracted a habit of using more signals than men less practised in that particular branch of service deemed necessary. Of this latter class of commanders was Admiral Geary. As soon as the enemy were discovered, and the signal made for a general chase, Kempenfelt, burning with as much impatience as the commander-in-chief to get up with the enemy, though differing in a trivial degree in his idea as to the best mode of effecting it, brought up the signal-book, which he opened and laid on the binnacle with the greatest form and precision. Admiral Geary, eagerly supposing the chase to be the Brest fleet, went up to him with the greatest good-humour, and squeezing him by the hand, in a manner better to be conceived than expressed, said quaintly, "Now, my dear, dear friend, do pray let the signals alone to day: to-morrow you shall order as many as ever you please."

he sailed in a parallel direction with the enemy, to watch any opportunity that might present itself of attacking them to advantage. In a short time, the van and centre ships of the enemy had shot considerably ahead of their rear and convoy. Such a favourable moment was not to be lost sight of, and Admiral Kempenfelt, with that professional skill and judgment by which he was so much distinguished, bore down under a press of sail, passed between the ships of war and the convoy, and effectually cut off fifteen of the latter, in addition to four others which were sunk. In the mean time, the Count de Guichen was endeavouring to form his line, but as his ships were a good deal dispersed, it took up a considerable time. The British admiral also made the signal for the line, and got upon the same tack with the enemy, with the intention of attacking them the following morning; but when he drew up in a line of battle to face them, he saw his inferiority, and was reluctantly compelled to desist. He retraced his steps, and proceeded to Plymouth, where he arrived in safety with his prizes, which were found to be particularly valuable, being laden with all kinds of warlike stores, ammunition, and clothing; they had also on board 1100 troops and near 700 seamen. In March 1782, he removed into the Royal George, and sailed as second in command to Admiral Barrington, to watch the movements of the enemy in Brest. On their arrival off the French coast, they fell in with the enemy's squadron, when two of their ships of war were captured, together with several of their convoy. Admiral Kempenfelt afterwards joined the fleet under Lord Howe: but on their return to Spithead, the Royal George having sprung a leak, was ordered to be inspected and repaired; but to avoid the delay of going into dock, it was determined to give her a slight careening, by laying her, to a certain degree, on her side, while neither guns, stores, nor provisions were removed, and while the admiral, officers, and crew, all continued on board. Besides these, the ship was crowded with persons from shore, to the number it is said of nearly three hundred, a considerable portion of whom were women and children. On the 29th August, the carpenters commenced the undertaking; but finding the leak greater than was expected, they were induced to give the vessel a more considerable inclination than was at first believed necessary; and in this situation, a sudden squall coming on, she completely overset, and the gunports being open, she immediately filled with water, and went to the bottom. A victualler, which lay along side, was swallowed up by the whirlpool which the sudden plunge of so vast a body occasioned. The ad-

miral, most of the officers, and all who were between decks, perished. The total number lost in that distressing event was estimated at from 900 to 1000; and those providentially saved, to about 300. Thus prematurely perished the brave but unfortunate Admiral Kempenfelt. Perhaps there is no officer who ever served in the British navy, and who was denied the opportunity of transmitting his name to posterity by the achievement of some brilliant exploit, who has left so high a character for every trait which can adorn the man and the officer, as Admiral Kempenfelt. Mr. Beatson says, that "too much honour cannot be paid to his memory. Independent of his naval abilities, his private life was of that kind which never fails to ensure the friendship of mankind; but above all, he disdained to be actuated by private pique, political manœuvres, or parliamentary intrigue; and permitted his professional conduct to be regulated only by his valour, his duty, and the love and regard which he had for his king and country. His abilities were known and admired by all the maritime powers; and he was justly esteemed to be as brave and able an officer, as this or any other nation ever produced. His character in private life rendered him an acquisition to every man who had the happiness of his acquaintance; and as an officer, his merit will be remembered as long as the British navy exists." Mr. Charnock is equally lavish in the admiral's praise, and as it is gratifying to hear the opinions of men of genius with regard to the services of our naval officers, we shall here subjoin them: "As too warm a tribute of praise cannot be offered to the memory of the virtuous, it is but justice to say (and it is said from authority), that the late Admiral Kempenfelt's merits as an officer were very considerably heightened by his deserts as a christian: nor was he less regarded for his benevolence, than esteemed for that kind of good breeding, by which a man of sense knows how to adapt himself to the three degrees of character in life; viz. his superiors, his equals, and those who are below him."

To these opinions are to be added those contained in a periodical publication of the day: "The unfortunate circumstance of his death seems to have been the only instance in which Fortune did not favour him, as till then all his actions were crowned with success, while his great courage and talents pointed him out as one who bade fair to shine among the first of naval heroes. He was the youngest flag-officer on the list at the time of his decease; but having been for many years distinguished for his great skill in manœuvring a fleet, an extraordinary promotion was

made for the purpose of including him." In the spring of the following year an elegant monument was erected in the church-yard at Portsea, to the memory of this distinguished officer and his fellow-sufferers. On it is engraved the following inscription, in letters of gold:

READER,
With solemn thought survey this grave,
And reflect on the untimely death of thy fellow-mortals;
And whilst,
As a man, a Briton, and a patriot,
Thou readest the melancholy narrative,
Drop a tear for thy country's loss:
On the 29th day of August, 1782,
His Majesty's ship the ROYAL GEORGE,
Being on the heel at SPITHEAD,
Overset and sunk;
By which fatal accident about nine hundred persons
Were instantly launched into eternity.
Nine days after, many bodies of the unfortunate floated,
Thirty-five of whom were interred in one grave
Near this monument,
Which is erected by the parish of PORTSEA,
As a grateful tribute to the memory
Of that great commander and his fellow-sufferers.

Upon a pedestal, in gold letters, is this epitaph:

'Tis not this stone, regretted chief—thy name,
Thy worth, thy merit shall extend thy fame:
Brilliant achievements have thy name imprest
In lasting characters on Albion's breast.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL SIR EDMUND AFFLECK, BART.

THIS gentleman was descended from an ancient Scotch family, and the original name appears to have been Auchinleck; but having been long settled in the county of Suffolk, they changed it to that of Affleck. Sir Edmund Affleck* having made choice of a seafaring life, entered on the trials of the service at a very early age, and attained the rank of lieutenant on the 2d July, 1745; but, like many of his cotemporaries, his early services were not of that description which require particular enumeration. On the 23d March, 1757, he was raised to the rank of post-captain, and appointed to the Mercury of 24 guns. Although this was a period when hostilities were carried on with great spirit, Captain Affleck does not appear to have been actively employed till 1759, when he was appointed to the Launceston of 44 guns; and though he continued in that ship till the end of the war, we do not find that he was engaged in any particular service, except the capture of Bellisle under Commodore Keppel. The only notice which we can find taken of him during the peace was his appointment to the Argo, which he retained for two years; and his appointment to the St. Antonio of 60 guns, stationed as a guard-ship at Portsmouth, which he retained for one year. The war with America, however, and subsequently with France, opened a wide scene for a display of his genius.

In 1775, he was appointed to the Medway of 60 guns, which bore the flag of Vice-Admiral Man, whom he accompanied to the Mediterranean. Having returned to England the beginning of 1778, he was immediately appointed to the Bedford of 74 guns, and sailed with Admiral Byron to America. The object of the expedition was, however, frustrated by the dispersion of the squadron, and when it was collected and refitted, the season for active operations was over. The French fleet proceeded to the

* His brother also entered into the naval service of the country: he attained the rank of rear-admiral of the Blue in 1787, vice-admiral in 1793, and in the same year was appointed one of the Lords of the Admiralty. In 1795, he was admiral of the Blue; and died in December 1799.

West Indies, and on Admiral Byron's preparing to follow it, the Bedford was found unfit for active operations: Captain Affleck was therefore ordered to proceed to England, where he arrived in January 1779; and as soon as the Bedford was refitted, he joined the Channel fleet under Sir Charles Hardy. At the end of the year he accompanied Sir George Rodney to the relief of Gibraltar; and on the 16th January, 1780, the Bedford was the first to make the signal for the enemy's fleet under Langara; and in the action which ensued, Captain Affleck bore a distinguished and decided part: he was one of the first engaged, and had 12 men killed and wounded. Being on his return to England with Admiral Digby, they fell in with an enemy's convoy, when the Prothée of 64 guns, and three vessels laden with troops and warlike stores, fell into their possession. On his arrival in England, he was ordered to put himself under the command of Admiral Graves, with whom he sailed to America, and there joined the fleet under Admiral Arbuthnot. In January following, the Bedford was unfortunately dismasted in a violent gale of wind; but the masts being replaced, she sailed with the commander-in-chief in search of the French squadron under De Ternay. In the action which ensued, the Bedford, from her being one of the rear ships, did not participate.

On the 20th May, Captain Affleck was ordered to hoist a broad pendant on board the Bedford, being raised to the rank of commodore. But as it became necessary to have an officer of rank stationed at New-York during the absence of the commander-in-chief, Commodore Affleck was directed to superintend the duties of the port, and consequently shifted his pendant into a frigate. He continued to fill the duties attached to this office till after the encounter of the two fleets under Admirals Graves and De Grasse in the Chesapeake, when the utmost exertions being made to succour the army under Lord Cornwallis, he rehoisted his pendant on board the Bedford, and was appointed to lead the fleet: but their exertions were now too late, the die was cast, the British army had surrendered, and the enemy's fleet was too strongly posted to admit of their being attacked; the British squadron therefore returned to New-York, and Commodore Affleck accompanied Sir Samuel Hood to the West Indies. In the attack made by the French admiral on the fleet under Sir Samuel in Basseterre road, he highly distinguished himself, and called forth the particular encomiums of his commander. "The enemy gave a preference to Commodore Affleck," says the admiral; "but he kept up so noble a fire, and was so well supported by his seconds,

Captain Cornwallis and Lord Robert Manners, that the loss and damage sustained in those ships were very trifling, and they very much preserved the other ships in the rear." Throughout this active campaign, Commodore Affleck's conduct was equally conspicuous, suffering no opportunity to escape him wherein he could increase his own honour, add to the reputation of his country, or depress that of her enemies. It was, however, his conduct on the 9th and 12th of April which rescued his name from oblivion, and transmitted it with honour and reputation to posterity. His commander bore ample testimony to his merits, and his Majesty raised him to the dignity of a baronet. Commodore Affleck continued in the West Indies during the remainder of the war; but he had no farther opportunity to distinguish himself. Peace having taken place, he returned to England; and on the 10th February, 1784, he was singly promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the Blue, but never hoisted his flag. After the defeat of De Grasse, and the account of the services rendered by Commodore Affleck on that occasion had reached England, the borough of Colchester chose him as their representative in parliament; an honour which he retained till his death, which took place on the 19th November, 1788*.

* The *Naval Chronicle* erroneously states him to have died on the 15th December, 1787: it was his lady who died at that period.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL SIR RICHARD KING, BART.

SIR RICHARD KING's family appears to have been long situated in the county of Kent; and his immediate ancestor was Richard King, Esq. of Bromley, who married Ann Curtis, by whom he had two sons and six daughters. The second son having been placed in the navy, was successively master of the Torbay man of war, a lieutenant in the navy, and a master attendant at Woolwich. He died May 1st, 1715, having married Mary, daughter of Benjamin Barnet, also a lieutenant in the navy, and who was lost in the Sterling Castle in 1704, and sister of Commodore Curtis Barnet, who died in 1746, commander-in-chief in the East Indies. By that lady he had four sons and two daughters.

Richard, the subject of this memoir, was born at Gosport in Hampshire, August 10, 1730; and before he was eight years old he entered on the toils of the naval service. It was under the immediate eye of his maternal uncle, the gallant Commodore Barnet, that our young officer received the rudiments of his profession, and under whose fostering care was laid the foundation of his subsequent eminence. He first sailed with him to the Mediterranean, and in 1744 accompanied him to the East Indies, where, on the 31st January, 1746, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant. Shortly after this event he sustained the greatest loss by the death of the commodore; a circumstance which, if it had happened at an earlier period, might have prevented his advancement in the service, but which was fortunately counteracted by the knowledge he had attained of his profession, and the promotion which had taken place. Lieutenant King remained on this station till the conclusion of the war, when he returned to England; and from this period till 1754, we are not aware that he was professionally employed. At that period he was appointed to the Bristol, one of the ships ordered to the East Indies under the command of Admiral Watson; but that vessel having run foul of the Eagle at Kinsale, both ships were so much disabled that they could not proceed on the voyage, and it became necessary to substitute two others, to one of which, the Tiger, Lieutenant King was appointed; but on his arrival

in the Indian seas, he removed into the admiral's ship as his first lieutenant. Nothing material, however, occurred till January 1756, when the admiral determined to attack the fort of Geriah, the fire from which being silenced, Lieutenant King was sent to demand permission for the troops to enter; but failing in that, he returned to the ship, when the firing recommenced, and on the following morning the town and fort surrendered at discretion. In the month of July following, Lieutenant King was advanced to the rank of commander in the Blaze fire-ship, which had been purchased by the admiral on receiving information that a French squadron might be expected in those seas from France.

Towards the end of the year, Admiral Watson sailed from Madras to attack the fort of Boujee Boujee: but in consequence of Captain King at that time labouring under a severe indisposition, he was unable to proceed with the expedition; but immediately on his recovery, he obtained a passage in one of the Company's ships, and arrived in time to partake of the fatigue and honour of the enterprize: he had, however, the mortification to find that the Blaze had sprung a leak and was sent to Bombay, by which accident he became merely a volunteer. He, however, was not deprived of an opportunity to distinguish himself; he was employed on shore with a detachment of seamen, and though not entitled to a participation of prize-money, he reaped a nobler reward in the friendship and esteem of his commander, and the fame which was given to his professional character. All the forts below Calcutta having been reduced, the admiral determined, in conjunction with Colonel Clive, to make an attack on that city. Captain King was here again employed with his seamen, and rendered the most essential service; and at its surrender he was desired to take possession of the fort.

The uninterrupted success which had attended the whole of these operations threw the enemy into the greatest consternation, and induced Admiral Watson to follow up his victory by an immediate attack on the rich city of Hoogly, situated about thirty miles above Calcutta. The force employed on this occasion consisted of the Bridgewater, Kingsfisher, and Thunder bomb, with all the boats of the squadron manned with 150 seamen, under the immediate command of Captain King*, who was expressly employed to act on shore with the troops under Major Kilpatrick. Here they were again completely successful: on the 9th January the vessels anchored before the town, landed the troops, and

* Schomberg.

commenced a cannonade, which continued till midnight, when a practicable breach having been made, the fort was carried by storm, Captain King and his seamen first entering the breach. The place was defended by 2000 men and 20 pieces of cannon; but nothing could withstand the impetuosity of the seamen and soldiers employed, and after a sharp contest, the British flag was hoisted on the ramparts.

Admiral Watson was so well pleased with the conduct of Captain King, whose courage, promptitude, and perseverance were particularly manifested in every instance where these qualities could be displayed, that he determined on forwarding his dispatches to England by the captain, accompanying them with strong recommendations to the First Lord of the Admiralty in favour of the bearer. Captain King sailed from Bengal in February 1757, on board the Pilot sloop of 90 tons; and notwithstanding the diminutive size of the vessel, sailed round the Cape of Good Hope during the most tempestuous season of the year. The gunwale of the Pilot was only two feet from the surface of the sea, and from the tempestuous state of the weather, was frequently in the utmost danger; but the nautical skill of her commander prevailed over the elements, and he reached England in the month of July, having been above five months on his voyage, without having stopped at any place from the time that he left Bengal. Captain King now expected to reap the reward of his gallant exertions and important services by being promoted to post-rank: in this, however, he was disappointed; but in the following year he was appointed to the Bonetta sloop, in which he sailed to the Leeward Islands, serving under the orders of Commodore Moore. Here he met with that promotion which had hitherto been denied him, by being posted, on the 29th January, 1759, into the Rye frigate. In this vessel, however, he remained but a short time, as we shortly after find him on board the Ludlow Castle of 44 guns, conveying a fleet of merchantmen from Jamaica to England. In 1760, he was appointed to the Argo of 28 guns, and cruised for some time off the coast of France, and subsequently in the North Sea. On this latter station he captured the Duc de Biron French privateer, pierced for 20 guns, but mounting only 15, having on board seven ransomers, securities for the payment of upwards of 4000*l.* sterling.

The commencement of hostilities with Spain in 1762 naturally opened a wider field for the exertion of our seamen; it became as extended as her commerce, and was felt in her most distant colonies. Im-

mediately on war becoming inevitable between the two nations, it was determined by the British government to make an attack on the Philippine Islands; and Captain King was selected by Lord Anson to carry out General Draper, who was appointed to command the land forces; and on their arrival, it was immediately put into execution.

During the operations carried on against Manilla, Captain King was dispatched by Admiral Cornish, in company with Captain Hyde Parker, in quest of a Spanish galleon from Acapulca; but missing her, they fell in with and captured one which had sailed from Manilla, valued at 3,000,000 of dollars*.

Intelligence having been received that the Philippina, the vessel which Captains Parker and King were sent in search of, had put into Palapa, a port in the Island of Samar, the governor and principal inhabitants of Manilla became extremely apprehensive that she would fall into the possession of their enemy, and entered into a negociation with Admiral Cornish and General Draper, by which it was stipulated that she should be given up to the English with all the treasure on board, the Spaniards being allowed to take out as much money as would pay off the remainder of the 4,000,000 of dollars which they had consented to give for the ransom of the city. These terms being agreed to, Captain King was dispatched to take possession. But after using his utmost exertions, and contending against the monsoon for near three months, he found it impossible to get through the Embocadero; and as his provisions were almost expended, and the sails and rigging of the ship, owing to constant rain, shewed symptoms of decay, he was under the painful necessity of returning to Manilla without attaining the object of which he had been sent in pursuit†; a circumstance doubtless anticipated by the Spaniards, who well knew the almost impossibility of the measure, and who protracted the agreement till they had notice of the most valuable parts of her cargo being removed up the country out of the reach of the British. In 1763, Captain King was appointed to the Grafton of 68 guns; and on the conclusion of the war, was ordered to proceed to England, in company with the Lenox, having charge of the galleon which he had so gallantly assisted in capturing.

On the apprehended rupture with Spain in 1770, Captain King was appointed to the Northumberland; after which he commanded the

* See *Memoir of Sir Hyde Parker*, p. 162. † Schomberg.

Ardent, and then the Asia, stationed as a guard-ship at Portsmouth, which formed one of the ships reviewed by his Majesty.

In 1777, he was appointed to the Pallas of 36 guns, and convoyed the outward-bound Quebec fleet to their destination. War having been declared against France, he accompanied Commodore Evans in an expedition against the Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon; which being successfully terminated, he removed into the Europe of 64 guns, and returned to England, when he sailed with Admiral Lord Shuldham, to convoy the East and West India fleets to a certain latitude.

In March 1779, he was appointed to the Exeter of 64 guns, and proceeded to the East Indies as second in command of the fleet under Sir Edward Hughes. On his arrival he hoisted a broad pendant as commodore, and continued on the station during the remainder of the war. He was at the taking of Trincomale in the Island of Ceylon, and was engaged in all the actions fought with M. Suffrein. In the engagement of the 17th February, 1782, the Exeter, being the sternmost ship, was most furiously attacked by three of the enemy, and had to sustain the fire of nearly their whole line as they passed to the centre of the British squadron; and from the circumstance of the Exeter not being quite close to her second ahead, the enemy for two hours made the most desperate efforts to cut her off, but was received with the most heroic bravery and determination on the part of the commodore and his gallant crew. During the whole of the battle, the van of the British squadron was unable to render any assistance to the centre and rear: the situation of the Exeter was therefore calamitous and dangerous in the extreme, and she was consequently reduced to a mere wreck, with 55 men killed and wounded, and several shot between wind and water, so that she was obliged to make the signal of distress. In this state, and towards the close of the action, two of the enemy's ships were observed to be bearing down upon the Exeter, with the appearance of making a last and desperate effort to cut her off. In this extremity the master applied to the commodore to know what he should do with the ship, seeing there was so little probability of making an effectual resistance. "There is nothing to be done but to fight her till she sinks*," was the noble reply of this intrepid officer. From this alternative, however, she was rescued by the timely assistance of Captain Wood of the Hero; but the gallantry of the commodore stands as an illustrious instance of British prowess and intrepidity.

* Schomberg.

Indeed his conduct throughout was marked with the most unshaken fortitude and presence of mind. During the height of the action, when the battle raged with the greatest fury, the captain (Reynolds) was killed by his side with a cannon-ball, whose blood and mangled brains flew all over him, so that he was literally blinded*: still, however, he preserved a most admirable equality and composure of temper, and gave his orders with the greatest clearness and precision. In the subsequent actions, the commodore's ship did not experience so pointed an attack or so heavy a loss: nevertheless he was most distingushedly engaged, and on the 12th April had 44 men killed and wounded. On the 6th July, he had 35 men killed and wounded. On the 3d September, he sustained a farther loss of 18 men; and on the 20th June, 1783, he had 26 men killed and wounded: making a total of 178 killed and wounded. During the last contest Commodore King had a narrow escape, a shot having struck the speaking-trumpet out of his hands whilst in the act of giving his orders.

Peace having been concluded, a reduction of the force in those seas became necessary, and Commodore King was dispatched to England with nine sail of the line; but on his arrival at the Cape, his old ship, the Exeter, was unable to proceed, and she was condemned as unfit for service.

On his arrival in England, the commodore was introduced to his Majesty, who was graciously pleased to confer on him the honour of knighthood†. On the 24th September, 1787, after a service of forty-nine years, he was promoted to a flag; and in 1790, he was made commander-in-chief in the Downs. In the following year he had his flag on board the St. George, as third in command of the fleet at Spithead. In 1792, his Majesty was pleased to confer upon him the dignity of a baronet, and he was appointed governor and commander-in-chief at Newfoundland. On the 1st February, 1793, he was advanced to be vice-admiral of the Blue; and on his return from Newfoundland, he was elected M. P. for the city of Rochester. In December 1794, he was appointed to the chief command at Plymouth; and on the 1st June, 1795, was made admiral of the Blue. He died in November 1806.

Sir Richard married Susanna Margaretta, daughter of William Coker, Esq. of Maypowder in Dorsetshire, and widow of Sir George Cornwallis Brown, Esq. a captain in the army, brother to the Countess of Peterborough, by whom he had two sons and three daughters.

* Beatson. † June 3, 1784.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL SIR JOHN LAFOREY, BART.

WE have very little to add to the account which has already been published of this gentleman by Charnock: yet we hope this will not be considered as a want of attention or diligence on our part, as we have used our utmost efforts to obtain every information which could throw any additional light on the subject, and have carefully examined it with all the historical accounts in our possession.

The immediate ancestor of Sir John Laforey was John Laforey, Esq. who was a lieutenant-colonel in the army, and governor of Pendennis Castle, and who was the only son and heir of Louis Laforey, the descendant of a family of that name in Poictou, and brother to the Marquis de la Forest, who came to England with William III. He died in 1753, leaving four sons by Mary, daughter and heiress of Jasper Clayton, Esq. John, the second son, and subject of this memoir, was born about the year 1729; and having been intended from his infancy for the naval service, he was educated accordingly. He was promoted to the rank of a lieutenant on the 12th April, 1748, and to that of commander on the 24th May, 1755. Having obtained the command of the Hunter sloop, he proceeded in 1757 with the expedition fitted out under Admiral Holburne and General Lord Loudoun against Louisbourg; but several unnecessary delays having taken place, joined to those arising from contrary winds, they arrived too late for the attempt to be made that season. In the following spring, Admiral Boscawen was sent to take the command of the fleet, and General Amherst of the troops, with orders to carry the original instructions into execution. The fleet sailed from Halifax the latter end of May, and arrived off Louisbourg the beginning of June. The troops having been landed, the general followed up his success with such rapidity, that by the 13th he broke ground before the place. The enemy had five ships of the line in the harbour, which brought all their guns to bear on the approach of the British troops; and on the 28th sunk a ship of the line and two frigates across the harbour's mouth, to prevent the English ships from entering it, and maintained an obstinate

defence till the 21st July, when two of their line-of-battle ships blew up. This was a great loss to the enemy, but they kept up a severe fire from the remaining two ships, and greatly annoyed the approach of the besiegers. The admiral, therefore, determined to make an attempt either to take or destroy them, and thereby render the taking of the town a matter of certainty. This service was intrusted to Captain Laforey, and the following particulars have been given of it:

"About noon, on the 25th July, by the admiral's order, two boats, a barge, and pinnace or cutter, from every ship in the fleet, except the Northumberland, an invalid, manned only with their proper crews, and armed with muskets and bayonets, cutlasses, pistols, and poleaxes, each boat under the direction of a lieutenant and mate or midshipman, rendezvoused at the admiral's ship. From thence they were detached by two and three at a time, to join those of Sir Charles Hardy's squadron off the mouth of the harbour. There they were in the evening ranged in two divisions, under the command of the two senior masters and commanders in the fleet, the Captains Laforey and Balfour.

"In this order they put off from Sir Charles Hardy's squadron about twelve o'clock, and by the advantage of the foggy darkness of the night and the inviolable silence of their people, paddled into the harbour of Louisbourg, unperceived either by the island-battery, which they were obliged to come very near to, or by the two men of war that rode at anchor at no great distance from them. There was no great probability of their being perceived from any part of the garrison, not only on account of their great distance, but also of the preconcerted brisk diversion made upon it from all the British batteries about that time. Besides, the besieged themselves left nobody an opportunity to hear any noise; for having in the daytime observed the numerous scaling-ladders that were brought into our trenches, they were under some apprehensions of an escalade intended as this night, and kept a constant fire with their musketry from the ramparts during the whole time, with the design, if possible, to deter the besiegers from the attempt, by shewing them how well they were upon their guard in all the places it could possibly be made.

"During this seeming security and prudent precautions on both sides, the bold stratagem of the boats for surprising the two remaining ships in the enemy's harbour every moment ripened for execution. After pushing in as far almost as the grand battery, lest the ships should be too soon alarmed by their oars, they took a sweep from thence towards the part

of the harbour where the commanding officers, who had before very well reconnoitred it, knew the ships were, and presently discovered them. Each division of the boats was no sooner within sight and hail of the noble object of their attempt, Captain Laforey's of Le Prudent, and Captain Balfour's of Le Bienfaisant, than after the sentinels on board having hailed them in vain, and began to fire on them, each of the commanders ordered his boats to give way along side the respective ships, and to board them with all the expedition and good order they could observe. The boats' crews, no longer able to contain themselves in silence, gave loud cheers, after their manner, as they were putting up along side, and with the most intrepid activity, armed some with muskets, bayonets, and cutlasses, others with pistols and poleaxes, followed their brave leaders, and boarded the ships in an instant with great spirit on each bow, quarter, and gangway. After very little resistance from the terrified enemy, they soon found themselves in possession of two fine ships, one of 74 and one of 64 guns, with the loss of a very few seamen and but one mate.

" The besieged were now sufficiently alarmed on all sides. The noise of the seamen in boarding and their huzzas left no room to doubt that it was from English seamen; added to which, the direction of the confused sound of voices and firing afterwards soon led them to suspect the real fact, an attempt upon their ships. The heroic successful adventurers were employed in securing their prisoners in the ships' holds, and concerting the most effectual methods for securing their prizes beyond the reach of the enraged enemy, when both the ships and boats received a most furious discharge of cannon, mortars, and muskets, from all parts whence it could be directed to them from the island-battery at no great distance, from the battery on Point Maurepas a little farther off, and from all the guns of the garrison that could be brought to bear on that part of the harbour.

" After endeavouring in vain to tow off Le Prudent, they found she was aground, with several feet of water in her hold. There now remained nothing in their power but to prevent her being recovered by the enemy, by setting her on fire. They did this with all possible expedition, bearing along side of her a large schooner and her own boats, that her people might escape in to the shore, which was at no great distance from her. On board this ship they found a deserter from our camp, who was killed in the little bustle made at our people's taking possession of her,

and by that means rescued from the ignominious execution of military justice.

"The boats from Le Prudent now joined the others which had attacked Le Bienfaisant, and helped to tow her off triumphantly in the midst of a formidable fire from the mortified enemy, which they did with great speed by the assistance of a little breeze, and what ragged sails, yards, and rigging she had left of any service after the constant fire she had so long received from our batteries. When they had got her out of the distance and direction of the enemy's guns, they secured her till the next day by a hawser in the north-east harbour, and enjoyed on board her the first happy moment's leisure of securely congratulating each other on their success and safety in this hazardous enterprize.

"The capture of these two ships by our fleet's boats on the memorable occasion, as it must be a lasting indelible honour to the vigilance and activity of those who projected, and to the bravery as well as conduct of those who executed, the bold design, will also be a new and perhaps a reasonable conviction to the whole world, that however arduous, however apparently impracticable any proposed naval attempt may be, the English seamen are not to be deterred from it by any prospect of difficulty or danger, but will exert themselves as far as men can do, and at least deserve success, when led on to it by such as are worthy to command them."

The cool and steady bravery, the spirit and judgment displayed by Captain Laforey throughout this trying occasion, procured for him that promotion which he deserved, and which a brave commander and a judge of merit is ever willing to bestow: he was raised to the rank of post-captain, and to command the Echo frigate, by Admiral Boscawen, on the 26th July, the day after his gallant achievement.

In the following year Captain Laforey served under the orders of Admiral Saunders at the siege of Quebec, and afterwards proceeded to the Leeward Islands, where he acted under Sir James Douglas and Admiral Rodney; and of course participated in the honour arising from the reduction of Martinique and the other French colonies, though without having any opportunity of particularly distinguishing himself. At the conclusion of the war he returned to England, and does not appear to have been employed during the peace, excepting a few months that he commanded the Pallas frigate. In 1777, he was appointed to the Ocean, and attached to the Channel fleet. In the encounter on the 27th July,

1778, off Brest, he was stationed as one of the seconds to Sir Hugh Palliser, who commanded the rear division, and though very distinguishedly engaged, had only 2 men killed and 18 wounded. This gentleman was afterwards examined as a witness on the succeeding trials of the admirals, and having been for many years before that event the professed friend and admirer of Admiral Keppel, was among those in whom the bias of affection, operating to perfect conviction, produced the most animated and pointed testimony in his favour. Soon after the conclusion of this very disagreeable controversy, it being deemed indispensably necessary to the service that a naval officer of rank should be constantly resident in the West Indies, for the purpose of superintending, conducting, and accelerating the refitment of ships which received such partial damages as were repairable there, without compelling them to the necessity of returning to Europe, Captain Laforey was appointed commissioner of the navy, resident at Antigua; and on the death of Captain P. H. Ourry, the commissioner of Plymouth, in the month of February 1783, Captain Laforey was made his successor. He retained this station till the year 1789, but during the two last years not very passively; for a promotion of flag-officers having taken place in September 1787, extending far below him on the list of captains, he grew extremely uneasy at what he deemed a neglect in being thus passed over. The Admiralty-Board in vain quoted precedents, justifying their conduct in withholding the flag from Mr. Laforey, as they asserted he was considered totally in a civil capacity, and withdrawn from the line of preferment and active service. Counter proofs, however, of a dissimilar procedure having been very forcibly urged by this gentleman and his friends, the then First Lord of the Admiralty was, as is reported, very reluctantly compelled to yield to the excited clamour; a clamour which was productive of a regulation with respect to flag-officers, both in this and other instances, which may be said to have totally prevented all state management in future, as well as hindered all innocent political opinions, all private attachments and connections, however hostile they may be meanly deemed to the interests of men in power, from ever again interfering with that just and regular promotion which officers have to look up to as the certain reward of a long and meritorious service. Mr. Laforey was promoted on the 10th November, 1789, to be rear-admiral of the Red, having, by the special order of his Majesty in council, taken rank according to his seniority on the list of captains, as though he had been promoted to be a flag-

officer two years before in his regular turn*. He was also advanced to the dignity of a baronet, and commander-in-chief on the Leeward Island station. The greater part of the time, however, that is usually allotted to such commands passed off without the occurrence of any event worthy of record; but before he left this station the war with revolutionary France broke out, and Sir John Laforey had just time to strike the first blow in that hemisphere, by the capture, in conjunction with General Cuyler, of the Island of Tobago. The expedition sailed from Barbadoes on the 12th April, and arrived in Courland Bay on the 14th: the troops were immediately landed, and the governor summoned, but on his refusing to surrender, the principal fort was stormed, and the following day the whole colony surrendered. Having been relieved by Rear-Admiral Gardner, Sir John returned to England. On the 1st February preceding, he was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral of the White, and on the 1st June, 1795, to be admiral of the Blue; previous to which, he was reappointed to the Leeward Island station, and sailed as a passenger on board the Amiable frigate, commanded by his son, Captain Francis Laforey. At that time the West Indies were in a dreadful state of agitation and alarm. The utmost exertions were made by the republicans to obtain the ascendency, and they stuck at no measures of cruelty or barbarity to accomplish their designs or establish their authority. Having taken Guadaloupe in the preceding year, during the time Sir John Jervis held the chief command, that island became the focus of rebellion and insurrection. In the beginning of 1795, they sent emissaries to St. Lucia, Grenada, St. Vincent's, and Dominica, exciting the people of colour to take up arms against the British government, and the most horrible excesses were committed on the peaceful inhabitants. The utmost exertions were made by Sir John Laforey to thwart the intentions of the enemy, and to restore order in the colonies; but it had taken too deep a root before he arrived to be easily eradicated, and before he could succeed in the object of his wishes, he was superseded in his command by Rear-Admiral Sir Hugh Christian, who arrived at Barbadoes on the 21st April, 1796, with a squadron of ships of war and transports, having a large body of troops on board under Sir Ralph Abercrombie. Sir John having resigned the command, sailed for England, but was not doomed to reach her shores. He was suffering under the effects of the yellow fever, and died on the 11th June, two days before the ship made the land. He

* Charnock.

was buried with military honours at Portsmouth, and the utmost respect and attention were paid to his remains by Sir Peter Parker, the port-admiral.

Sir John married, at Antigua, Ellenor, the only surviving daughter of Francis Farley, Esq. colonel of artillery, a member of the council and one of the judges of the island. By this lady he had issue one son and two daughters.

"This gentleman is a strong instance how possible it is for an officer to outlive the popularity he had once attained. Previous to Sir John's second departure for the West Indies, few men stood higher in the public opinion, an opinion entertained by even those who were in no degree connected with the service. But some unfortunate events which took place during the time he held his last command, which events were possibly not removeable by any greater exertions than were actually made by the admiral, caused as general a clamour among the inhabitants of the West Indies as perhaps ever was excited on any preceding occasion. A French banditti, aided by a number of progressive fortunate circumstances, all contributing to strengthen and support their consequence, had, some time before he returned to the West Indies, as it were miraculously, rendered themselves masters of the Island of Guadaloupe. Their privateers and armed vessels, which were numerous almost beyond credibility, daily sallied out from the ports of the island, and scarcely ever returned successless, that is to say, without making prize of a British vessel, or one under neutral colours laden with provisions or merchandise for the service and support of some English colony; the gentlemen who had captured them having too enlarged ideas of the laws of war to respect the rights even of neutral nations, when they interfered with their immediate advantage either in point of profit or any other way. Hence from the almost innumerable quantity of hostile cruisers swarming like bees over the surface of the ocean, a considerable number of vessels, many of them of considerable value, were made prizes of, and the British colonies at times reduced almost to distress. The force under Sir John's orders, though highly formidable in point of real strength, was extremely ill calculated to counteract the depredations of this flotilla, which, from the size and fleetness of the vessels that composed it, could so easily elude his utmost vigilance. This, no doubt, he was himself sensible of, and might probably therefore not keep his cruisers so much at sea as the losers expected, and insisted he ought to have done.

Men smarting under vexations are not uncommonly too virulent in their complaints and censure; while that virulence only serves to create in the person abused a resolution to act closely up to what his duty requires of him, and to do nothing farther. It were impossible to decide on this dispute without impartially stating and considering the evidence on both sides; evidence taken collectively, that perhaps is not in the possession of any single person. We shall content ourselves therefore with saying, that this gentleman, who, previous to his last appointment, had universally and deservedly acquired so high a reputation, was certainly extremely unfortunate in having, at the very close of life, put it to the hazard, in cases where his own personal exertions were almost totally unnecessary, and in a country where of all others he was caressed. Till this period he held no inconsiderable share of influence among the people of the colonies, as well on account of his former long residence among them, as the valuable possessions he held in the Island of Antigua in right of his lady."

Notwithstanding the clamour which was raised against Sir John's conduct during the time he held the command in the West Indies, we are assured by officers of experience and veracity, and who were on the station at the time, that no officer could be more zealous in the discharge of his professional duties, more careful in the distribution of his ships, or station them with greater judgment than he did: that the clamour which was so unjustly raised against him, arose from circumstances over which he had no controul, and of course was not answerable for their consequences: that on his arrival on the station he found the ships and vessels extremely foul, and very unfit for the service on which they were employed: that nearly the whole of the islands were in a state of insurrection, and consequently every facility was afforded to the enemy by the disaffected: that Sir John exerted himself to the utmost of his power and abilities to reform the one and eradicate the other, and proved himself on every occasion a brave and meritorious officer, but that the time he retained the command was not sufficient to enable him entirely to succeed.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL HERBERT SAWYER.

WHAT has been said of some other individuals may with truth be said of this gentleman, that, as it is not the fortune of every man to have that opportunity of distinguishing himself which is necessary to the acquisition of high renown, there have been several commanders who have attained the most elevated rank in the service, and with the greatest intrinsic honour, without acquiring that fame which has indelibly established the characters of others: yet are these men not a tittle less entitled to the thanks and applause of their countrymen; for it would be vain and foolish to expect that all the naval officers whom we mention should be men of very superior merit, or raised high above their fellows by uncommon talents and success. But as his conduct throughout the whole of his professional services may with truth be said to have been highly honourable to himself and advantageous to his country, we think he may be allowed to rank with the most distinguished officers of Britain; and we therefore select him as the subject of the present Memoir.

We are unacquainted with any particulars relative to his family connections, and our first acquaintance with him commences with the period of his commission as lieutenant, which was dated March 4, 1756. Subsequent to this, we know nothing of his services till his appointment as captain of the Chesterfield of 40 guns, on the 26th December, 1758. This command, however, he appears to have held but a very short time, as we find him in the following year commanding the Active in the Mediterranean, and being present at the defeat of the French squadron under De la Clue. Captain Sawyer continued on this station during the remainder of the war without meeting with any opportunity to distinguish himself, till after the rupture with Spain, when he was sent to cruise off Cadiz; and on the 21st May, 1762, the Favourite sloop being in company, a strange sail was discovered, to which chase was immediately given. In a few hours they were close along side, when Captain Sawyer hailed them whence they came; and on being answered from Lima, he desired them to strike, as hostilities were commenced between Spain and England.

Such intelligence they were not prepared to hear, and were incapable of defending themselves; they therefore, after a little hesitation, hauled down their colours: she proved to be the Hermione, a large Spanish register-ship, and the richest prize taken during the war. The treasure was conveyed from Portsmouth to London in twenty waggons, decorated with the English colours flying over those of Spain, and escorted by seamen and marines. They formed a grand procession, and entered London on the 12th August, the day on which the Prince of Wales, his present Majesty, was born, and materially contributed to increase the joy manifested on that occasion. On their entering London they were joined by a party of light horse and a band of music. On their proceeding down St. James's-street, his Majesty and the nobility went to the windows over the palace-gate to see them, and joined their acclamations to those of the people. The net proceeds of this valuable prize, after paying all expences, which amounted to 24,942*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* produced 519,165*l.* which was distributed in the following manner:

To the admiral and commodore	£64,963	3	9
ACTIVE'S SHARE.			
To the captain	65,053	13	9
To three commission officers	39,014	2	3
To eight warrant officers	34,689	5	4
To twenty petty officers	36,130	17	8
To one hundred and fifty-eight seamen	76,132	13	0
FAVOURITE'S SHARE.			
To the captain	64,872	13	9
To two commission officers	25,949	1	6
To seven warrant officers	30,273	8	5
To sixteen petty officers	28,832	6	3
To one hundred and ten seamen	53,253	14	4
	£519,165	0	0

The Active being entitled to the whole bounty-money occasions the difference in the shares between the two ships. Captain Sawyer's share was, however, greatly reduced, in consequence of an agreement he entered into with a brother officer, Captain Medows, afterwards Viscount Pierrepoint, that they should share with each other whatever prizes were made by them during their continuance on a foreign station; an engagement which Captain Sawyer of course most punctually fulfilled.

During the ensuing peace, Captain Sawyer does not appear to have held any command; and it was not till 1777, when the nation was in-

volved in a war with her rebellious provinces in America, and the appearance of hostilities with the house of Bourbon, that he again went to sea. On this occasion he was appointed to the Boyne of 70 guns, and in the following spring sailed with Rear-Admiral Barrington to the West Indies. In the defeat of D'Estaing in the month of December, whilst lying in Gros Islet Bay, St. Lucia, Captain Sawyer obtained the highest reputation and credit. Indeed " to say that he distinguished himself on every possible occasion, where the smallest opportunity presented itself of his being able to display that gallant spirit of enterprise he naturally possessed, is only to reiterate the just encomiums bestowed on him by all those under whose commands he ever served. In the action off Grenada with the French fleet under D'Estaing, Captain Sawyer was amongst the first who got up with the enemy; but notwithstanding the very spirited manner in which he supported Rear-Admiral Barrington and Captain Gardner in making the attack, he had the good fortune to escape with less injury, as to his people, than either of those gentlemen, having had only twelve men killed and thirty wounded."

Captain Sawyer having returned to England, was appointed to the Namur of 90 guns, and served in the Channel fleet under Admirals Darby and Geary; with the former of whom he sailed to the relief of Gibraltar, and with the latter assisted in the capture of an enemy's convoy. Having quitted the command of the Namur the latter end of 1781, Captain Sawyer remained unemployed till 1783, when he was appointed to the Bombay Castle, which was employed as a guard-ship. In 1785, he was nominated to the chief command on the North American station, and hoisted his pendant on board the Assistance of 50 guns. On the 24th September, 1787, he was promoted to be rear-admiral of the White; on the 1st February, 1793, to be vice-admiral of the Blue; and on the 1st June, 1795, to be admiral of the Blue. This advancement, however, he did not live long to enjoy, having died in the month of June 1798*.

* The following anecdote has been related of this gentleman: During the time he commanded the Active, himself and Captain Pownal of the Favourite paid their addresses to two sisters, and were favourably received by them; but their father, a merchant of great property at Lisbon, objected to them on account of their fortune, and desired they would discontinue their courtship till their circumstances were improved, which was shortly the case by the capture of the Hermione. An earthquake at Lisbon soon after deprived the merchant of all his property, but effected no alteration in the minds of Captains Sawyer and Pownal; they repaired to the spot, settled an annuity on the father, and married his daughters.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL LORD HOOD.

IT has been justly observed, that in studying the consequences that arise to men from the different situations which they are by birth destined to fill, it will at once occur to the most unthinking, that whilst honours and affluence secure a man from the temptation to meanness or criminality, they likewise deprive him of those motives for exertion that are felt by people in an inferior situation. With equal abilities and equal inclination, the exertions of men are different when left free and when acted upon by necessity; and it is for this reason clear that the greatest actions must be performed by men who have either been born to encounter difficulties, or have by indiscretion created difficulties to overcome. History is full of instances of the former: the latter are more rare, but still they are to be found in sufficient numbers to confirm the opinion, that great exertions are never made but when called forth by great occasions.

Of Lord Hood's family we have already given some account in the Memoir of Lord Bridport, and as they were far from being affluent, it will be easily conceived that there were no very brilliant prospects for young men of ambition, talent, and perseverance. It was natural therefore that some profession should be chosen in which the bent of their inclination might be satisfied; in which, on their entering on the performance of their duties, they should feel that the honour to which they aspired was attainable by every one who sought it, and whose genius and actions render them worthy of such distinction. The royal navy naturally presented itself to their view, and perhaps the maritime county in which they were educated might have had some effect on their choice. Samuel, the elder son, was the younger officer; a circumstance we have been at some pains to ascertain the cause of, though we fear without the desired effect. The *Naval Chronicle*, however, states that he was not originally destined for the naval service; that it was some time before his venerable father could obtain sufficient resolution to trust two sons in that honourable but perilous profession; and that it was not till 1740 that he

first went to sea, when he was placed as a midshipman on board the Romney of 50 guns, commanded by Commodore Smith; the same ship and under the same commander in which his brother first commenced his career*. Perhaps it would have been difficult to have selected an officer more worthy of the charge, or one who would have taken more pains to instil into their youthful minds the necessity of subordination and the rules of the service in general; the propriety of their adopting towards themselves a rigid system of discipline; that they should be obedient to their superiors, scrupulously attentive to their orders, zealous in their duty, and above all, should possess a high sense of honour and integrity, qualities which are the foundation of all great and heroic minds. That these recommendations were not lost on Alexander Hood we have already shewn; and it is now our pleasing duty to prove, that they were fully acted upon by his brother. Having distinguished himself in the situation of midshipman on various occasions that demanded considerable skill and activity, Mr. Hood in a striking manner excited the notice and patronage of the discerning commodore, and was accordingly promoted by him to the rank of lieutenant, 17th May, 1746†. Mr. Hood was next appointed lieutenant of the Winchelsea of 20 guns, which in the ensuing winter engaged and captured a French frigate of superior force. During the action, which was very spirited, Lieutenant Hood received a severe wound. In 1748, he was removed to the Princess Louisa, then bearing Admiral Watson's flag, with whom he sailed to Newfoundland; and on the expiration of his command, returned with him to England. In fulfilling the several duties attached to the situation of lieutenant, Mr. Hood was indefatigable and persevering; he embraced every opportunity to improve himself in the art of navigation; and by the whole of his conduct proved the assertion, that it is only inferior geniuses that sink, while the great ones reach the shore in safety‡.

* We have heard, but cannot answer for its correctness, that he went to sea in an inferior capacity, that of captain's clerk; that he filled that situation under Captain Rodney; and that when the latter was commander-in-chief in the West Indies in 1781, and Sir Samuel Hood was second, Sir George said, "If any thing should happen to me, the command of the fleet will devolve upon my clerk." This, however, was not said out of any disrespect to Sir Samuel Hood, as Sir George ever held his abilities in the highest estimation.

† Charnock.

‡ Mr. Playfair in his *Peerage* states, that "having attained the rank of lieutenant,

Having attained the rank of commander in 1754, he was appointed to the Jamaica sloop, and employed on the North American station under Commodore Holmes. In the action with the French squadron off Louisbourg on the 27th July, 1756, he merited and obtained the high opinion of the commodore. He shortly after received advice of his promotion to post-rank (22d July), when he returned to England, and was commissioned to the Biddeford of 20 guns, in which he accompanied Sir Edward Hawke in his unsuccessful cruise in quest of M. Bois de la Mothe: he was also employed to cruise in the Channel, but had not the good fortune to perform any thing worthy of notice The following year he removed into the Vestal of 32 guns; and in February 1759, he sailed with Rear-Admiral Holmes for North America. Being sent ahead of the squadron on the look out, on the 21st he gave chase to a strange sail, which he soon discovered to be a French frigate of the same class as the Vestal. About two o'clock he got within gun-shot of the enemy, when a desperate action ensued, and continued without intermission for four hours, when the enemy struck, and proved to be the Bellona, commanded by the Count de Beauharnois, with dispatches from Martinique for the French government. At the time of her surrender the enemy had only her foremast left standing, which soon after went by the board, and she was left a mere wreck. When the Vestal brought-to, all her topmasts fell over her side, and had not the weather proved favourable, the lower masts must have followed. In this state Captain Hood made the best of his way to Spithead, which he reached on the 2d March. The Vestal having been refitted, was ordered on Channel service; and in the bombardment of Havre de Grace, her gallant commander added new laurels to those with which he was already crowned. He next proceeded to the Mediterranean under the orders of Admiral Sir Charles Saunders, by whom he was directed to scour the Spanish coast, to look into all the bays and harbours, for the purpose of endeavouring to obtain some information respecting a French squadron which had escaped from Toulon; a service which he performed to the entire satisfaction of Sir Charles. Captain Hood continued on this station during the remainder of the war, but

he distinguished himself on various occasions, particularly by his personal intrepidity in cutting out and capturing a vessel belonging to the enemy by means of an armed boat, where he succeeded in the enterprise, but was wounded." This account, however, we have not been able to trace to any other source.

owing to the extreme caution of the enemy, no event of particular consequence occurred.

During the ensuing peace Captain Hood was appointed commander-in-chief on the North American station, with the rank of commodore. Whilst employed on this service, discontent in America first began to shew itself; but instead of palliating the offences committed, instead of misleading the nation and the government as to the peaceable disposition of the inhabitants in general, and, like some individuals, anticipating the speedy punishment of the "rebels," he described the colonies as being in a state of ferment and dissatisfaction not easily to be quieted, and clearly pointed out the probability of those circumstances occurring which afterwards actually took place. Having returned from that employment, he was appointed in 1774 to command the Marlborough of 74 guns, stationed as a guard-ship at Portsmouth. On the 5th July, 1776, a dreadful accident happened on board the ship while clearing for dock, occasioned by some gunpowder taking fire which had been carelessly left in the magazine. The fore-part of the ship was on fire for some time, several of the beams were broken, and in many places the decks were blown up by the explosion. Twelve seamen, three women, and three children were killed, and about fifty people wounded*. In 1777, Captain Hood commanded the Courageux of 74 guns, and with three other ships of the line sailed on a cruise to the westward, from which he returned in January following, and for a short time quitted the active service of his profession to fulfil the important duties of resident commissioner at Portsmouth. In the month of May following his Majesty visited that establishment, when he was pleased to signify his approbation of Captain Hood's services by creating him a baronet of the united kingdom; and on the 26th September, 1780, he was advanced to be rear-admiral of the Blue.

Whilst Captain Hood was faithfully discharging the duties of his office at Portsmouth, the war was raging with the utmost violence in every quarter of the globe. It was, however, in America and the West Indies that the grand contest took place; there the greatest exertions were made to obtain the ascendency, there was the post of danger, there the post of honour, and there Admiral Hood was directed to proceed. He left England the beginning of December with eight sail of the line,

* Schomberg. The gunner was tried by a court-martial, and dismissed the service.

having under his convoy the outward-bound merchant-fleet. They were, however, unfortunately shortly after overtaken by a violent gale of wind, which separated part of the convoy, and disabled some of the ships of war, of which the Monarca was entirely dismasted, and obliged to return to Portsmouth. The rest of the fleet proceeded on their voyage without meeting with any particular circumstance. Sir George Rodney having determined on attacking St. Eustatia, Sir Samuel proceeded with his division off the island, to prevent the escape of any ships of war or merchant-vessels. The reduction of the island speedily followed; but while the captors were regulating the captured property, intelligence was received that a strong squadron of ships of war had sailed from Brest, destined for Martinique; and it consequently became necessary to send a force to intercept them: for this purpose Sir Samuel Hood was detached with fifteen sail of the line, and was subsequently joined by three others, to cruise in the track of Martinique. He accordingly proceeded for that station, and on the 28th April the look-out frigate got sight of the enemy, whose force consisted of nineteen sail of the line, and which were joined by four sail of the line from Fort Royal previous to the action. A general chase was immediately ordered, and a line of battle ahead formed at two cables' length asunder. In this position the squadron was kept the whole night, working to windward, it being the wish of Sir Samuel to get as close in with Fort Royal as possible by the following morning, so that he might be able to cut the enemy off from that harbour. About nine o'clock they were discovered coming down between Point Salines and the Diamond rock; on which Sir Samuel made the signal for a close line, and to prepare for action. Every possible exertion was now made by the British admiral to obtain the wind, but failing in that, he brought-to the squadron under top-sails, and threw out the signal to engage. The action commenced about eleven, and about half-past twelve became general with the van and part of the centre, but at too great a distance to render the contest decisive. Sir Samuel used every exertion a brave man is capable of doing to bring on a close and general action, but all his efforts were in vain; the option lay with the enemy, and he was determined to preserve his distance. Finding that not one shot in ten reached their object, Sir Samuel ceased firing, which was soon followed by De Grasse. From the peculiarity of the action, the Russell, Centaur, Intrepid, and Torbay were exposed to a

great superiority of fire, and consequently sustained considerable damage, the first of which was obliged to bear away for St. Eustatia. The following day it blew a steady gale from the S. E. and Sir Samuel, " seeing that the French line was very irregular, and that the van and part of the centre were greatly separated from the rest, made one of those bold movements, which, by throwing the fleet into the greatest apparent confusion, would to a common eye have appeared full of danger, at the same time that it could be directed only by the greatest judgment. The object was to gain the wind, in which he was very near succeeding; and in that case he would have cut off and destroyed one half of the French fleet before it could have been succoured by the other. Fortune, however, failed in her usual favour to bold enterprise:" the wind fell, and finding all his exertions ineffectual, he thought proper to bear away for Antigua. The enemy continued in sight till the afternoon of the 1st May, when they were no longer visible.

It has been said that Sir Samuel Hood, on his receiving instructions to intercept the enemy, made some remonstrances to Sir George Rodney on the impropriety of stationing the squadron off Fort Royal Bay, as he would be continually liable to fall to leeward, and consequently be incapable of effecting his object; and that he requested permission to cruise to windward of Martinique, which would render it almost impossible for the French admiral to enter the channel without risking an action. Sir George, however, was of a different opinion: by adhering to his instructions the squadron could easily communicate with St. Lucia, and also blockade the four sail of the line in Fort Royal harbour, which otherwise might have proceeded to sea, and attempt the recapture of some of the islands: Sir Samuel was therefore directed to follow his orders.

The proceedings of the squadron after its junction with Sir George Rodney having been already sufficiently related in our Memoir of that distinguished officer, it is needless to enter into any farther detail. On the approach of the hurricane months, and the French admiral preparing to proceed to America, Sir Samuel was directed to follow; and as Sir George returned to England, the command of the squadron devolved upon him. As soon as the fleet was repaired and victualled he sailed for America, and formed a junction with Admiral Graves: he co-operated with him in his endeavours to relieve the army under Lord Cornwallis; but, as we have already shewn, they were vain and fruitless. In

the action off the Chesapeake, although he was second in command, he had no share in it*. "This circumstance was thought extraordinary, and indeed complained of by many persons who were unacquainted with naval tactics; but it must be very apparent to all persons viewing the plan of the battle, that as the rear of the French fleet extended far beyond that of the British, and their four or five sternmost ships were considerably to windward of those farther advanced towards the centre, Sir Samuel would have thrown himself into the most perilous situation, and most probably very materially injured the interest of the country, had he borne down and engaged the ships opposite to him, as those still remaining astern, and somewhat to windward, would have had it in their power to have closed and put him between two fires: whereas by keeping aloof he, according to the disposition made by the commander-in-chief, suffered the centre and van to engage on equal terms, ship to ship, and kept the rear, where alone the superiority of the enemy lay, in perfect check with a far inferior force†."

The operations of the squadron on the American coast having closed, Sir Samuel Hood returned to the West Indies, whither he was soon followed by De Grasse; and whilst refitting his squadron at Barbadoes, he received information that the enemy had commenced an attack on the Island of St. Christopher by landing a large body of troops, which were supported by thirty sail of the line. At this time the force under Sir Samuel Hood did not exceed twenty-two line-of-battle-ships; but overlooking this circumstance, so favourable to the enemy, and considering only the urgency of the moment, he hastened to Antigua, and having taken on board all the troops that could be spared, proceeded for Basseterre roads, where the enemy's fleet lay. On the 23d January, 1782, the signal was made for forming the line of battle, and the commander determined on attacking the enemy at their anchorage. He knew that it was a most perilous undertaking, but the occasion demanded prompt, vigorous, and decisive measures; and the confidence he reposed in the conduct and capacity of his officers and men, amongst whom there was no other contention than who should be most forward in rendering services to their king and country‡, made him overlook all disadvantages;

* The *Naval Chronicle* states, that "our fleet had 90 men killed and 230 wounded, chiefly belonging to Sir Samuel Hood's squadron." But so far from this being the case, the squadron or division under Sir Samuel's command had not a single man killed or wounded, not having been in the action.

† Charnock. ‡ *Gazette Letter.*

and he prepared, with his usual composure, for the event. Unfortunately this bold and well-concerted measure was frustrated by the Alfred having run foul of the Nymphe, and receiving so much damage as obliged the fleet to bring-to the whole of the 24th. In the mean time the French admiral had received information of their approach, and rejoicing in their apparent temerity, confiding in his own superiority of numbers, and hoping to annihilate the power of his adversary, he put to sea on the evening of that day. During the ensuing night Sir Samuel manœuvred his fleet so as to keep the wind of the enemy, in which he fortunately succeeded, and on the following morning both fleets were in sight of each other. The British admiral, being abreast of the Island of St. Nevis, made the signal for the line of battle standing in shore; which obliged the French admiral, who was to leeward, to do the same, and of course to form by his leewardmost ships. This increased the distance of the two fleets, and left the road of Basseterre open to the British fleet. The object of Sir Samuel Hood was to relieve the island, and he instantly saw the advantage which he derived from this movement; he knew it was the only chance he had left of saving the island, and he instantly indicated by signal his intention of stearing for the anchorage which the enemy had just left. Some little time was lost by the leading ships not clearly comprehending the signals, so that the fleet was brought-to, and a frigate sent to every ship in the van to explain the admiral's intentions. This delay permitted the approach of the French fleet; and our ships being obliged to bear away in succession in order to round the point of Nevis, the two fleets drew within gun-shot of each other. The French admiral having now penetrated the design of Sir Samuel Hood, made all the sail he could set, and fell furiously on the rear of the British squadron, which gave a fine opportunity to Commodore Affleck, Lord Robert Manners, and Captain Cornwallis, to distinguish themselves. The fleet proceeded steadily on, each ship anchoring in succession in a line of battle, agreeably to the signal flying; during which the British admiral twice backed his main-top-sail for the rear to close, and at the same time to give the ships in the van time to be placed at their anchorage, which operations allowed the enemy time to range up abreast of the centre. The conduct of the Count de Grasse at this period seemed that of an angry man, rather than that of a great admiral occupied how he should best employ the force of a superior fleet to destroy the audacious intruder. He pushed on with a great press of sail, passing many of the leading

ships of his line, and firing furiously at every British ship he approached; but as soon as he penetrated as far as the Barfleur, Sir Samuel Hood's ship, his wrath abated, and he bore up out of the bay, each ship following their admiral; but the British ships being nearly placed before the rear of the enemy's ships came up, these had also a share in the action, by firing as they passed at our ships at anchor.

The masterly piece of seamanship which Sir Samuel Hood had displayed in this manœuvre, was equalled only by the judicious distribution of his ships at anchor: they occupied the whole space from the salt-pans at the head of the bay, to the outer road of Basseterre, the van ship being anchored so near the shore that it was impossible for the enemy to weather her, and so nearly upon the edge of the bank, that the enemy's fleet could not anchor without it, and beyond the range of a shell from the batteries at Basseterre, then in the enemy's possession. The great judgment, intrepidity, and skill displayed in this manœuvre excited equal surprise, chagrin, and disappointment in the Count de Grasse, who saw, when it was too late, the error he had committed. He, however, appeared determined to rectify it as much as possible, and seeing it was of the utmost importance that he should regain his former position, and impelled by every motive for exertion, he, on the following morning, stood into the road, the flag-ship leading, and attacked with great fury the whole of the British line from van to rear; passed under the stern of the last ship, stood in shore towards the frigates at anchor, then wore, and continued his exertions with great courage and resolution for about two hours, when, finding he could make no impression on the British line, he ceased firing and stood out to sea. Not discouraged by this second mortification, he resolved on making another effort. In the mean time Sir Samuel strengthened his rear, and anchored it more in the form of a crescent; which was no sooner done than the enemy in the afternoon commenced his third attack with great impetuosity, and directed his utmost efforts against the rear and centre of the British line: but he was again repulsed with considerable loss, and he left his opponent in quiet possession of his victory. The manifestations of zeal and courage displayed on this occasion by the British admiral and his gallant associates were not attended with the desired success. Though Sir Samuel had succeeded in all his operations by sea, he found it impracticable to introduce any supplies into the garrison, owing to the great superiority of force under the French general, who prosecuted the siege with such vigour,

that the colony was obliged to capitulate on the 13th February. The situation of the squadron under Sir Samuel Hood now became extremely dangerous, and its longer continuance there entirely useless, as the Marquis de Bouilli was preparing batteries on shore to command the roadstead. Sir Samuel determined on putting to sea: this, however, was rendered a matter of some difficulty, from the situation of the French fleet, which had been increased by the arrival of two ships of the line from France. The only object Sir Samuel had now in view was to keep his squadron as whole and compact as possible, in order to join Sir George Rodney, who was daily expected in the West Indies. He therefore gave directions for the fleet to cut their cables at eleven o'clock on the night of the 14th and put to sea, the sternmost and leewardmost ship first, and so on in succession, and proceed under an easy sail till otherwise directed by signal. That this order might be punctually obeyed, the captains were ordered on board the Barfleur, and directed to set their watches by the admiral's timepiece. With such order, secrecy, and dispatch was this measure carried into effect, that the enemy, although they were only five miles distant, knew nothing of it till the following morning, when not a single ship of the British squadron was to be seen*.

Sir George Rodney having assumed the chief command of the squadron, the services of Sir Samuel Hood merge into those of the commander-in-chief, which we have already related, and to which we have nothing to add, but that throughout the whole of the campaign, more particularly on the 9th and 12th April, he displayed such eminent qualities as could not fail to excite the highest admiration in his commander and companions, and to ensure fresh marks of his sovereign's esteem and approbation: he was accordingly created a peer of Ireland, by the title of Baron Hood of Catherington. The freedom of the city of London was also voted to him, and presented in a gold box of one hundred guineas value, as a testimony of the high opinion which the members of the Court of Common Council entertained of the judicious, brave, and able exertions which he had displayed in the various engagements with the enemy.

After the arrival of Admiral Pigot, he accompanied him to North America, but subsequently returned to Jamaica. The repeated disappointments which the enemy experienced, joined to the disgrace which they had lately sustained, had so reduced them both in number and spirits, that the remainder of the war passed on without the occurrence

* Beatson.

of any one remarkable incident. His lordship returned to England in June 1783, to enjoy in peace those honours which he had won in war. In 1784, he was elected representative in Parliament for the city of Westminster, after a severe contest. In 1787, he commanded in chief at Portsmouth, having his flag on board the same ship in which he had rendered such essential service to his country. On the 24th September following, he was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral of the Blue; and in 1788, he was appointed one of the Lords of the Admiralty, which he held till 1793, when that great event, the revolution of France, burst forth and astonished the world.

During the debates in Parliament on the American war, it was observed that in the continual vicissitude of political events on the continent of Europe, we need not wait long for a favourable opportunity of returning the blow given us by France on that occasion: a prediction that was fully verified; but such an opportunity as eventually took place was, we believe, by no means anticipated. Though France succeeded in accomplishing the object for which she then took arms, and for which she had long and ardently wished—the dismemberment of the British empire—she was deemed at the peace to have paid too dear for the attainment of that end. Her finances and resources were entirely exhausted; and strong indications soon appeared in a variety of instances, how incredibly short of her expectations those benefits would prove, which she had so sanguinely promised herself would result from the emancipation of the British colonies; and while the strength of Britain was increasing, and her armies recruiting, those of France declined; her bank stopped payment, internal dissensions ensued, and finally terminated in the dissolution of the government and all the ancient establishments of that country.

No sooner was war declared between the two countries, than Lord Hood was selected to command a strong squadron of ships in the Mediterranean. He sailed for that destination on the 22d of May, with eight sail of the line; and soon after his arrival, events of the utmost importance transpired. France at that period was divided by parties and distracted by intestine broils. The provinces bordering on the Mediterranean were more particularly the scene of anarchy and confusion. On the appearance of his lordship off Toulon, the inhabitants manifested a strong attachment to the cause of the Bourbons, and a desire to free themselves from the oppression of their new masters. A grand effort was therefore made by the British admiral to obtain possession of Toulon:

he opened a negociation with the principal inhabitants for the delivering up of the town, arsenal, forts, and shipping to his Britannic Majesty, to be held in trust for Louis XVII. He issued a proclamation, in which he stated, that if a candid and explicit declaration in favour of monarchy were made at Toulon and Marseilles, the standard of royalty hoisted, the ships in the harbour dismantled, and the port and forts provisionally placed at his disposal, so as to allow of egress and ingress with safety, the people of Provence should have all the assistance and support which the fleet under his command could give, and that private property should not be touched. His lordship added, that at the restoration of peace the port and ships should be restored. To this proclamation a declaration was made by a committee of the sections of Toulon, agreeing to the terms proposed by Lord Hood. His lordship therefore landed 1500 men on the 28th August, to take possession of the forts which commanded the ships in the road. This measure was rendered the more necessary as several of the French ships were in a very refractory state: Admiral Trogoffe, who had entered into all the views of the British commander, had been deprived of his command, and Rear-Admiral St. Julian, a man of a violent and turbulent disposition, had been placed in his situation; the forts to the left were in their possession, and resistance threatened. The most prompt and vigorous measures therefore became indispensable. A flag of truce was dispatched to St. Julian, with notice that such ships as did not immediately proceed into the inner harbour and put their powder on shore would be treated as enemies. This had the desired effect: St. Julian and the crews of seven ships made their escape, and the remainder followed the directions prescribed to them. During these proceedings a Spanish fleet, under the command of Don Juan de Langara, appeared in sight, and afterwards joined the British squadron. Lord Hood now proceeded into the outer road of Toulon, followed by the Spanish admiral; shortly after which a numerous deputation from the civil and military departments came on board the flag-ship, with an address of congratulation to his lordship. Lord Hood's attention was now directed to the government of the town, the securing of all the defences on the land side, and putting the whole in a proper state of defence. Rear-Admiral Goodall was made governor of Toulon; and Lord Mulgrave having arrived on the 6th September, he was requested to command the troops, when every preparation was made which sound judgment and a proper sense of the emergency could dictate. As the number of

English and Spanish troops was but small, a reinforcement of 1500 men was obtained from Gibraltar. His lordship also wrote to the courts of Naples and Sardinia for assistance, when about 2000 men from the former, and about 800 from the latter, were immediately sent. Difficulties, however, increased, and the French seamen were particularly turbulent, which induced his lordship to remove 5000 of the most refractory in four of the most unserviceable ships to Brest, Rochefort, and l'Orient*. But Toulon was not destined to remain long in the possession of the allied powers: continual attacks were made by the republican troops on the advanced posts; their army was daily increasing, and great fears began to be entertained as to the tenability of the place. Lord Hood now found full employment for his various talents; and perhaps no Englishman was ever placed in a situation so arduous, so difficult, or to which so much duty and responsibility were attached. In addition to the care and attention which were necessary to be shewn towards his own fleet, and which consisted of upwards of thirty vessels, there were several Neapolitan, and seven French ships armed and manned under Admiral Trogoffe, which required constant watching; the government and protection of the town, the details of the army, and the obtaining provisions†. The very correspondence he was obliged to keep up with the Admiralty and government at home; "the several British ambassadors, ministers, and consuls in Spain, Italy, and Constantinople; the states of Barbary and the islands in the Mediterranean; the foreign correspondence with the sections of Toulon and Marseilles; the negociations and correspondence with the Austrian generals, with the Tuscan minister and governors, with the Kings of Sardinia and Naples, and their secretaries of state, generals, and naval commanding officers; with the Pope and his secretary of state, Zeladi; with the senators of Genoa and Venice; with the grand master of Malta, and the Corsican General Paoli and his ad-

* This we cannot but look upon as an injudicious and unnecessary step. Had his lordship taken out the guns of the vessels, removed them to the outer harbour, converted them into prison-ships, and anchored an English line-of-battle-ship along side of each of them, they could have given him no trouble or uneasiness; four ships of the line would have been saved, and the French government deprived of the services of five thousand of the most determined and most enthusiastic seamen in its navy.

† This was an object of great importance and difficulty. From a failure of crops in Italy, the Roman states were the only source from whence supplies could be obtained, and with these all political intercourse had been interdicted. But on a representation of the situation of the British fleet and army being made to the cardinal secretary of state, both grain and cattle were forwarded to his lordship.

herents," one would have thought sufficient to occupy the whole of his attention; but if it were not enough, a circumstance occurred which tended materially to increase it, to multiply his difficulties, and embarrass his proceedings, and this from a quarter whence he could not have expected it. On the 23d October, his lordship received a letter from Admiral Langara, acquainting him that his Catholic Majesty had been pleased to promote Admiral Gravina to the rank of lieutenant-general in his army, and to appoint him commander-in-chief of the combined forces at Toulon; and under pretence of moving his fleet into more convenient situations, he anchored his own ship along side the Victory, and two others on her bow and quarter, as if to intimidate the British admiral into compliance. At this time his lordship had only ten sail of the line in Toulon, but he knew too well what was due to his own honour and the character of his country to submit to such a measure. He therefore wrote to the Spanish admiral, and informed him that the town and forts were delivered up to the British troops alone; that the Kings of Sardinia and Naples had confided their troops entirely to his disposal; that he had placed them under the command of General O'Hara, and that he could not suffer any interference with such command. Though the Spanish admiral submitted on this occasion, it laid the foundation of that distrust which afterwards subsisted between the two commanders, and which is so fatal to the success of all conjunct operations.

During this time the enemy were indefatigable in their endeavours to reduce the town; they collected 40,000 men, which enabled them to lay close siege to it, and directed their principal attack against Fort Mulgrave, situated on the heights De Grasse, and which commanded the inner harbour. Having during the night of the 16th December succeeded in storming this important post, a council of war was called on the following morning, when it was decided that the place was no longer tenable; and that it was therefore advisable to take immediate measures for the evacuation of the town, for the destruction of the magazines and arsenal, and also such ships and vessels as could not be brought away. The task of removing the artillery, stores, and troops was intrusted to Captain Keith Elphinstone, assisted by Captains Hallowell and Matthews, and was most successfully performed. The Spanish commander undertook to give directions for the destruction of the ships in the inner harbour, and also to scuttle two powder-vessels which contained all the powder belonging to the French ships: this, however, he did not perform. Sir Sydney

Smith having volunteered his services to destroy the arsenal and ships of war, that important charge was committed to his management, and which he executed with admirable skill, judgment, and bravery. By this means the treachery of Don Langara was in a considerable degree counteracted; but the success would have been still more complete, had not the Spaniards set fire to, instead of sinking, the two ships laden with powder, the explosion from which shook the houses in Toulon like an earthquake, shattered to pieces two gun-boats, and nearly destroyed Sir Sydney Smith and his brave associates. Notwithstanding these unfortunate and distressing circumstances, ten ships of the line and several frigates, with the mast-house, great store-house, and other buildings, were completely destroyed; whilst three ships of the line and five frigates, having on board such royalists as could be provided for, were moored with the British fleet out of reach of shot and shells, and the following day proceeded with his lordship to Hieres Bay.

Thus was the first blow given to that republican Hydra which threatened destruction to this country and the whole continent of Europe, a blow which certainly might have been more severe had proper precautions been taken to render it more effective. Up to the 30th of November the conduct of Lord Hood appears to have bean directed by the soundest judgment and the greatest ability. Previous to that period, great fears were entertained as to the tenability of the place; but from that day no rational hopes could be entertained of its being successfully defended: still no measures were taken for the security of the shipping and the immense quantities of stores and ammunition in the different warehouses. General O'Hara waited upon his lordship, before he went to make that attack which terminated in his being wounded and made prisoner, and stated the apprehensions he entertained, and urged the necessity of preparing for the worst; but his lordship was deaf to his representations, and treated them with indifference. He appears to have been either intoxicated with success, or bewildered by the multiplicity of business he had to perform. Even after the defeat of the British troops, and the capture of their commander (General O'Hara), no preparations were made for an evacuation; the shipping was not even removed to the outer harbour, where it would have been quite as safe, and where it would have been ready at a moment's notice to have proceeded to any place his lordship should direct. The consequence was, that the evacuation which took place was so sudden and unexpected, and the confusion

which naturally attends all hasty proceedings was so great, as to prevent the full execution of the plan which was drawn up*.

Previous to the evacuation of Toulon, his lordship, being anxious to dispossess the French of the Island of Corsica, detached Commodore Linzee to attack the fort of Forneille by sea, whilst General Paoli should attack it by land; but owing to the general not having commenced his operations at the same time, the attack failed, and the commodore returned to Toulon. But the evacuation of Toulon had no sooner taken place, than Lord Hood turned his whole thoughts to the subject, and determined that all his exertions should be directed to the attainment of that object. He was incited to this undertaking by a variety of reasons: in the first place, the possession of it would prevent the French from supplying their great naval arsenal with ship-timber; and in the next, the situation of its ports would afford an excellent asylum to the British squadron. A plan of operations having been agreed upon with General Paoli, Commodore Linzee was again detached with a small squadron, having a body of troops on board under Lieutenant-General Dundas, to co-operate with him in its reduction. Their efforts were attended with the desired success, St. Fiorenzo being taken on the 19th February. The reduction of Bastia became the next object, and Lord Hood submitted a plan to General Dundas for that purpose; which, however, he declined, thinking it impracticable without the assistance of 2000 additional troops; and having declined all co-operation in the enterprise, his lordship resolved to take upon himself all the responsibility of the attempt, and determined to attack it with the naval force alone. Having obtained the assistance of a few artillerymen, he began the siege with 1000 marines, including those troops who were doing duty as such, and 250 seamen. This handful of men was landed under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Villettes, Captains Nelson, Hunt, Bullen, and Sericold, and commenced their operations the beginning of April. The ships of war were placed so as effectually to prevent any boats sailing either to or from the town. By the 11th April the batteries were ready to be opened, when his lordship immediately sent a summons to the French general. The latter refused to receive it, and returned a haughty message by the officer who carried it. The batteries were then opened, and the utmost exertions made to reduce the place. In their progress they were necessarily exposed to many dangers, many difficuties, and many obstacles, which to a cold or

* On the 28th March, 1804, the sum of 265,336*l.* was granted by Parliament to Lord Hood, being the estimated value of the ships taken at Toulon.

lukewarm understanding would have appeared insurmountable; but what can withstand men who have a true sense of their country's honour, who are animated with the true spirit of Englishmen, and who are led by officers of renowned talent and experience? In proportion as their dangers increased, did they overcome them with the most heroic courage. Great as the difficulties were with which they had to contend, powerful as the obstacles were which they had to surmount, they all finally yielded to their energies and perseverance, and on the 22d May the town and citadel surrendered by capitulation.

In considering the whole of the circumstances attending this arduous and perilous enterprise, that it was resolved on against the opinion of a military officer of great reputation; that no more than 1250 men, seamen, marines, and soldiers, without tents, except those which were made out of the sails of the ships, and no cannon, except those which were taken from the lower decks of the ships, sat down before a town and citadel containing 4000 veteran troops, and obliged them to yield, the mind is lost in wonder and astonishment at the boldness of the chief who could plan, and the valour, firmness, and fortitude of the brave men who could achieve such an exploit. It was distinguished by a display of heroic valour and patriotic feeling, and tended materially to illustrate the position, that wherever Englishmen are, not only equal in point of number, but where they are considerably inferior, that native and characteristic valour for which they are so eminently distinguished, fails not to display itself, and secure the palm of victory. In this light it was viewed by the country, and in consequence the thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to his lordship*.

The attention of Lord Hood was now drawn to another quarter. Having received intelligence that the enemy's fleet was about to sail from

* Captain Brenton states, that on the day both Houses of Parliament unanimously voted their thanks to Lord Howe for the battle of the 1st of June, a similar honour was paid to Lord Hood for the capture of Toulon and the destruction of the French fleet and arsenal: that it was strongly opposed by the Earls Lauderdale and Derby, on the ground of his lordship's conduct previously to the evacuation; but that it was carried by a great majority, after a very animated debate; five lords having entered their protest against it. The whole of which is entirely wrong. Lord Hood never received any thanks from Parliament for the capture of Toulon: consequently no animated debate or protest could take place on it. It was his "able and gallant conduct in the expedition to Corsica" that drew forth that mark of approbation: but even that did not take place on the day mentioned. The vote to Lord Howe passed the Lords on the 13th June, and the Commons on the 16th: that to Lord Hood, for Corsica, passed the Lords on the 17th June, and the Commons on the 20th.——See *Parliamentary History*, 1794.

Toulon, he put to sea, and on the 10th June he obtained sight of them. A press of sail was instantly ordered, the utmost exertions were made to come up with them, and on the following morning they were not above four leagues distant, when a battle appeared almost inevitable. To avoid this, however, the enemy pushed for Gourjean Bay, and as the wind fell, his lordship was prevented from getting between them and the land. Boats having come from the shore, they were towed under the protection of the batteries on the Islands of St. Honoré and Marguerite. Here his lordship meditated the capture of the enemy's rear ships by doubling on five of them, but the unfavourable state of the weather continuing rendered every attempt impracticable. His lordship, therefore, having left Admiral Hotham to watch their movements, proceeded to Calvi, which was closely invested by sea and land, to assist in its reduction, and which he compelled to surrender on the 10th August*. This completed the reduction of the island, and the general assembly at Corte having decreed its annexation to the crown of Great Britain, Sir Gilbert Elliott was appointed his Majesty's viceroy.

The health of Lord Hood being considerably impaired by the continued fatigue of body and mind which he had experienced since his appointment to the Mediterranean command, he returned to England towards the end of the year, and though his flag was flying till May following, he did not again go to sea, but at that period resigned the command.

On the 25th March, 1795, he was elected an elder brother of the Trinity-House; in March 1796, appointed governor of Greenwich Hospital, and in the month of May following, he was created a viscount of Great Britain. His lordship died 27th January, 1816, in his 92d year.

To draw a true and faithful character of this great and good man, one which is commensurate with his name and deserts, is a task we are not able to perform. If a recital of his actions do not serve to convey to the reader that opinion of his merit and abilities which they deserve, nothing that we could say would have that effect. But were the article to be concluded without farther notice, we fear we should not do justice to that renown which he acquired, or give satisfaction to those individuals who have honoured us with their support.

From what we have been able to learn from those who sailed with his lordship, who were upon terms of great intimacy with him, and who consequently had opportunities to judge of his professional abilities and the goodness of his heart, both were of the most exalted description:

* Captain Brenton erroneously states it to have held out till the 18th.

they speak of him as a father and a friend, rather than an admiral and a commander, and bear the most unequivocal testimony as to his professional deserts and private virtues. It is beyond a doubt that he well deserves to be ranked amongst those admirals whose inherent abilities have most eminently supplied the deficiency of force in war. To great personal skill and intrepidity, he united a sagacity and vigour which commanded the highest admiration: but as " power and fortune must concur with prudence and justice, to effect any thing great in a political capacity;" so the qualities which we have enumerated must be united to humanity, generosity, and a high sense of honour, to form a great and shining character, all of which were most happily combined in this illustrious individual. So many qualities of the man and the officer endeared him to the navy, and render his superiors, his equals, and inferiors loud in his praise. He acquired the confidence of those princes who intrusted their troops to his command, and the services he rendered to them were acknowledged under their own hands.

It will be unnecessary to recapitulate his great and glorious services, but there is one period to which we cannot avoid alluding—his command in the Mediterranean. On that occasion, with so many difficulties to overcome, the genius of the commander shewed itself superior to all obstacles; all his dispositions, all his movements proved him a most able and intrepid officer. Throughout the whole of that command, with the exception of the part to which we have already alluded, the conduct of his lordship was considered by the most able judges as affording specimens of the greatest professional exertions. They struck the enemy with the highest admiration of his abilities; and they served to confirm the opinion, that the naval power of Britain would render her superior to all her enemies. But at the same time it is certain, that the glorious results which ensued would not have occurred, had he not been supported by that degree of unanimity, diligence, skill, and bravery in his followers, which arose out of that respect and confidence which they had in their leader, and that perfect love of country with which they were animated. His lordship has been described as possessing in the greatest perfection the art of preserving a strict authority when on board, with the talent of at the same time gaining the steady attachment of those who were under his command: that he displayed the sternness of the old school, and preserved a strict regard for implicit obedience; but that the whole was tempered by a tenderness and urbanity, which prevented its ever being oppressive or tyrannical.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL LORD HOTHAM.

AMONGST those officers who have contributed to raise the naval glory of the country, whose names stand high in the records of Fame, and whose services have been considered worthy the thanks of Parliament and the gratitude of the nation, the name of Hotham is distinguished.

Admiral William Lord Hotham was the third son of Sir Beaumont Hotham, Bart. and was born April 19, 1736. He received his education at Westminster School, which establishment he left at the age of twelve years, and removed to the Royal Naval Academy at Portsmouth, where he prosecuted his studies with great ardour and success, and at the age of fifteen made his first voyage to Halifax on board the Gosport. Having removed into the Advice, he proceeded to the Leeward Islands, where he remained three years, when he was made acting lieutenant of the Swan sloop, and sent to North America; from whence he returned to England, charged with the information respecting the French encroachments on the river Ohio, which produced the war that soon after followed. In 1755, he was appointed sixth lieutenant of the St. George, the flag-ship of Sir Edward Hawke, and afterwards removed with Sir Edward into the Namur. On Sir Edward being ordered to supersede Admiral Byng in the Mediterranean, he proceeded there with him in the Antelope, and was immediately afterwards appointed fourth lieutenant of the Ramillies: he soon became first of that ship, in which situation he continued four months, when Sir Edward made him master and commander of a polacre of 10 guns, and soon afterwards of the Fortune sloop of 14 guns. As the latter vessel was then at sea, he proceeded on a cruise with the temporary command of the Syren of 20 guns, and fell in with the Telemaque of 26 guns, which he engaged for some time; but the enemy not liking the reception he met with, set his sails, and from the great superiority he had in that quality over the Syren he effected his escape, but not till he had sustained a severe loss, having the captain and several men killed. The Syren also had four men killed and many wounded; amongst the latter was Captain Hotham, who received a

musket-ball in his shoulder. Falling in soon after with the Fortune sloop, he took the command of her, and being sent to Alicant with a convoy, he fell in in the night with four French ships of the line, from which, however, he had the good fortune to escape. The next day he fell in with a French letter of marque, mounting 26 guns (being nearly double the size of the Fortune), and having on board 150 men, which, after a desperate action, he carried by boarding. In this contest Captain Hotham had two men killed and eight wounded; whilst the enemy had twelve killed and above twenty wounded. This gallant action could not fail of obtaining Captain Hotham both praise and promotion; and he was accordingly ordered home, to be made post-captain in the Gibraltar of 20 guns, which took place on the 17th August, 1757, being at the time only twenty-one years of age. On his arrival in England, he was immediately appointed by Lord Anson, then First Lord of the Admiralty, to the Melampe of 36 guns. In her he was sent with Captain Lockhart up the North Sea in search of M. Thurot; but not meeting with him, he was ordered to carry Lord George Germain (then commander-in-chief of the British forces in Germany) to Helvoestsluys. On his return on the 28th March, 1759, two French frigates hove in sight, and notwithstanding their evident superiority, chase was instantly given, and they were brought to action at eight p. m. Captain Hotham maintained the unequal contest for an hour and twenty minutes, when the Southampton, Captain Gilchrist, came up and joined in the action. The enemy defended themselves for some time longer with great bravery, but the persevering efforts of Captain Hotham at length succeeded, and one of the enemy's ships, the Danaë of 38 guns, struck to him, after sustaining a loss of 40 killed, and a vast many wounded. Her consort, the Harmonie of 32 guns, effected her escape under favour of the night. In an action so bravely fought and so long contested, the victor could not expect to escape without loss; but considering the nature of the battle, the great disparity of force at the commencement, and the ardour with which it was maintained, his loss was comparatively few, being only nine killed and twenty-two wounded. Both ships being very much disabled, he fell in with the dangerous shoals called the Lemon and Oar, between which he was obliged to carry the ships in order to save them, and brought them safe into Hull. Soon after this, the reduction of Belle Isle being projected, he was employed by Sir Edward Hawke to take a drawing of the island, from which, after it had been submitted

to a cabinet council, at which Captain Hotham and Commodore Keppel attended, the attack was successfully made under the command of the commodore. The island being reduced, and the Melampe standing in need of much repair, he was appointed to the Æolus of 32 guns, employed in 1762 as a cruiser, in which he was remarkably successful. Being off Cape Finisterre, he captured two French privateers, and retook a valuable ship from Jamaica. In the month of April following, in company with Captain Logie, he took three more privateers, and also recaptured a valuable merchantman which they had in company. Captain Hotham continued to cruise during the remainder of the year, and on the 29th August he gave chase to two strange ships. On seeing the Æolus, the enemy stood into Aviles Bay, taking shelter under a small battery. Having reconnoitred their position, he stood into the bay, and came to an anchor with a spring on his cable, in such a situation as not only to bring his guns to bear against one of the ships, but against the battery also, and that with such effect, that the enemy took to their boats, and abandoned both ship and battery. A party was immediately dispatched to spike the guns of the latter, and another to take possession of the ship; but on approaching her, she was found so fast aground, that there was no probability of getting her off: she was consequently set on fire, and entirely consumed. She was called the St. Joseph, a Caraccas vessel, pierced for 60 guns, but had only 32 mounted. Her companion effected her escape by warping into shoal water.

Captain Hotham still continued his cruise, and on the 11th September, being between St. Andero and Bilboa, he gave chase to a small squadron of the enemy; but finding on his near approach that there were three frigates amongst them, and consequently too strong to be attacked, he kept them in sight for five days, in hopes of falling in with some English cruisers, and be enabled to bring them to action with a probability of success: but failing in this, and having exceeded the limits of his cruise, he was obliged to give up the pursuit, and return to his station; in doing which he captured a valuable ship from Bourdeaux bound to St. Domingo, and which belonged to the above convoy, but had parted company soon after sailing.

This closed Captain Hotham's services during that war; and whether we look to those acts which he performed, or to the skill, industry, and talent he displayed in their performance, we consider the former as en-

titled to the most unqualified applause, and the latter as having excited the most just and well-founded expectations.

In 1767, he was appointed to the Hero of 74 guns, stationed at Plymouth*; in 1770, to the Resolution, being one of the ships put in commission on the dispute with Spain relative to the Falkland Islands†, and which he commanded when his Majesty reviewed the fleet at Spithead in 1773.

England, after enjoying a state of tranquillity from 1763, now began to feel much anxiety, owing to the civil dissensions existing in America. Having failed in her endeavours to conciliate the minds of the people, she became involved in a war with her own subjects, which in its progress convulsed the whole world. Fleets were equipped, armies embarked, and the most active and enterprising officers appointed to commands. Past successes are productive of future hopes; and the zeal, alacrity, and courage evinced by Captain Hotham were the best guarantees for subsequent good conduct: they attracted the attention of the country, and secured to him an active employment in her navy. Having been appointed commodore, he sailed to America, and arrived at Sandy Hook on the 12th August, having under his convoy several transports, with reinforcements of troops and camp equipage. Preparations were at that time just completed by Lord and General Howe for making an attack on Long Island, and the commodore was directed by his lordship to superintend the debarkation of the army, which consisted of fifteen thousand men. The arduous duties of this service he conducted with the greatest dispatch and regularity. In the subsequent operations of the army at New-York he rendered the most essential service, and received the highest commendations from Lord and Sir William Howe. The commodore was next employed under Sir Peter Parker in the attack on Rhode Island, when he again received the thanks of his commander. In the early part of 1777, he was employed to cruise against the enemy's commerce. His zeal was as active in fulfilling this part of his duty as it was in every thing which appertained to the service, and his success was proportioned to his zeal. Being off Lynn-Haven Bay, he captured a small sloop laden with forty hogsheads of rum; after which he proceeded up the Chesapeake to Point Comfort, where he perceived an American privateer, a ship, and several sloops, part of which he captured, and drove the others on shore. He then proceeded to the De-

* Schomberg. † Beatson.

laware, at the mouth of which he took several small vessels, but being of little value, he destroyed them. He also captured a French vessel laden with arms and ammunition, which cost thirty thousand pounds, two schooners laden with rum, one with seven hundred barrels of flour, and several others of minor importance, the principal part of which were sent to New-York.

On the departure of the expedition under Lord Howe against Philadelphia, the commodore was directed to superintend the naval operations at New-York, which he conducted with his usual alacrity and discernment.

We have already stated that the most decided success attended the operations in that quarter; but while these transactions were taking place, events of a more decided nature happened in the northern provinces. Though the most brilliant advantages had hitherto attended the British arms in this unfortunate contest, things were now about to take a new turn, which, in their result, produced all the mischievous consequences of defeat.

An expedition having been fitted out for the purpose of affording aid to the army under General Burgoyne, then on its march from Lake George, and approaching Hudson's river, it was resolved by Sir Henry Clinton to leave nothing undone that could contribute to his relief. Commodore Hotham made the necessary naval arrangements, and every thing being prepared, the squadron sailed up the North river, in order to make a diversion in favour of General Burgoyne. In their progress they had to encounter many difficulties, but the spirit of the commanders rose in proportion: the objects they had in view were great, and the desire of their attainment seemed to remove obstacles which to those of a less ardent disposition would have appeared insurmountable. It will be unnecessary to go into detail: suffice it to say, that though forts Montgomery, Clinton, and Constitution were reduced; though a vast quantity of stores and two frigates were burnt; though the utmost ardour was evinced, and the most unremitting industry displayed, the great object of the expedition was found impracticable—General Burgoyne was obliged to surrender with his whole army. Upon receiving intelligence of this disastrous event, the commodore returned to New-York with his squadron.

The campaign of 1778 opened with a great accession of force on the part of the Americans. In the beginning of May copies of two treaties of commerce and alliance between France and the United States arrived

at York-Town; and these were soon followed by twelve sail of the line and six thousand land forces. Of the narrow escape of Lord Howe's squadron, and of his being blockaded by D'Estaing, we have already given an account in our Memoir of his lordship. Though no general action took place, Commodore Hotham was not without an opportunity of signalizing his courage and abilities; and having the opportunity, he did not fail to embrace it. After the dispersion of both fleets by a storm, he fell in with one of the enemy's ships, the Tonnant of 80 guns; and notwithstanding the disparity of force which existed between the two vessels, he attacked her with such spirit, resolution, and effect, that had not several French ships hove in sight, he had every prospect of obliging her to surrender.

The defenceless state of the West India Islands rendering it necessary that reinforcements should be sent to Admiral Barrington, Commodore Hotham was dispatched thither with two 64-gun ships, three fifties, and three frigates, with a fleet of transports, having five thousand land troops on board. The commodore sailed from New-York on the 3d November, and it is worthy of remark, that the Count d'Estaing left Boston harbour on the same day for the same destination. The two squadrons sailed in a parallel direction and within a short distance of each other for a considerable time, without any knowledge of their relative situation. During their progress both fleets experienced a heavy gale of wind, which partly dispersed that of the enemy; but owing to the good fortune, skill, and ability of Commodore Hotham, the British squadron was kept collected, got the start of the enemy, and arrived in safety at Barbadoes. A junction with the force under Admiral Barrington being thus formed, an immediate attack was undertaken upon the Island of St. Lucia. Having in our Memoir of Admiral Barrington stated the proceedings of the expedition, it only remains for us to observe, that Commodore Hotham was directed to superintend the debarkation of the troops; that though the operations were attended with great and unforeseen perils, they were productive of the most decided success, and of the highest glory to all concerned.

During the following year (1779), Commodore Hotham does not appear to have had any opportunity of adding to his reputation: his Majesty, however, was not unmindful of the services he had already performed, having appointed him to the honourable situation of colonel of marines.

Lord Rodney having arrived in the West Indies, the year 1780 was rendered conspicuous by three partial engagements with the fleet of the enemy: in those encounters Commodore Hotham bore a considerable share, and had 26 men killed and wounded, and received the approbation of his commander-in-chief.

Sir George Rodney having left the West Indies for America with the greater part of the fleet, the command of those that remained devolved on Commodore Hotham, who was doomed to experience the weight of one of the most violent hurricanes ever experienced in those seas. At the time of its commencement, the Ajax, Montagu, and Egmont, and some other ships which were at anchor before the entrance of the harbour of St. Lucia, were blown from their moorings, and had to encounter all the horrors of the most outrageous sea that the oldest seaman had ever witnessed. The Vengeance (Commodore Hotham's ship), with the Ætna and Vesuvius bombs, was moored in the Carenage, and though every precaution had been taken to preserve her from the tempest, she parted from her cable and tailed upon the rocks. In this extremity her masts were cut away, and part of the guns thrown overboard, when the wind fortunately shifting two points to the eastward, her stern swung off, and she was providentially saved, at a moment when ruin, desolation, and destruction were seen around, and death appeared inevitable*. The storm having abated, and the shattered squadron been collected, the commodore had them repaired without delay; but while this necessary service was being completed, a squadron of four French sail of the line appeared off the island, and threatened an attack. Fortunately Commodore

* The effects of this hurricane were severely felt in many parts of Europe and America, as well as the West Indies, but more particularly in the latter. Many ships were driven ashore and wrecked; others were blown out to sea and foundered; while considerable damage was done to the interior parts of the islands. But amidst the horror and devastation of this distressing calamity, the humanity of the Marquis de Bouilli, governor of Martinique, affords some consolation and relief. The British ships Laurel and Andromeda being wrecked off that island, the whole of their crews, with the exception of thirty-one individuals, perished: these, however, were sent by him in a flag of truce to Commodore Hotham, with a letter, in which he declared, that he could not consider in the light of enemies, men who had so hardly escaped in a contention with the force of the elements; but that they having in common with his own people been partakers of the same danger, were in like manner entitled to every comfort and relief which could be given in a season of such universal calamity and distress. He only lamented, he said, that their number was so small, and particularly that none of the officers were saved.

Hotham had been joined by two sail of the line from England; and the enemy seeing them stronger than was expected, effected their retreat.

In the following spring, the commodore was dispatched to England with two sail of the line and three frigates, having under his charge a large and valuable convoy, consisting of thirty-four sail, laden principally with the most valuable spoils taken at St. Eustatia, but which were still destined to enrich the enemies of the country. The French ministry, hearing of their near approach, and taking advantage of the absence of the Channel fleet (dispatched under Admiral Darby for the relief of Gibraltar), fitted out six sail of the line with the greatest expedition, to intercept them, and which they unfortunately accomplished on the 2d May, about twenty leagues west of Scilly. As soon as they hove in sight, Commodore Hotham made the signal for an enemy—for the convoy to disperse and save themselves; and also directed the ships of war to draw close to him. Considering the great disparity of force which existed, this was the only measure the commodore could with propriety take; and had the enemy divided his force, sending one half in quest of the convoy, and the other in chase of the ships of war, no doubt the commodore would have acquitted himself in a manner worthy of his reputation; but the enemy pursued the merchant-ships with their whole squadron, and placed it entirely out of the power of the commodore to render them any assistance, and one half of them fell into the possession of the enemy.

In 1782, the commodore hoisted his broad pendant aboard the Edgar, and accompanied Admiral Milbank in search of the Dutch fleet; but as the enemy had notice of their approach, they returned to the Texel. The commodore now joined the fleet under Lord Howe, and towards the end of the year proceeded with him to the relief of Gibraltar. In the skirmish which took place on that occasion with the combined fleet he was partially engaged, having had six men wounded.

Peace shortly after taking place, the commodore, with many others, was destined to enjoy a short respite from the fatigues of service. In 1787, he was advanced to the rank of rear-admiral of the Red, and, according to Captain Schomberg, to command in the Downs; but we doubt the correctness of this statement. On the apprehended rupture with Spain in 1790, he was again called into active service, and hoisted his flag on board the Princess Royal of 98 guns; but the differences of

the two nations being amicably adjusted, the rear-admiral struck his flag. On the 21st September, he was made vice-admiral of the Blue. After this no mention is made of him till the commencement of the war with France in 1793, when he hoisted his flag on board the Britannia, and was appointed second in command of the fleet in the Mediterranean, under Lord Hood. But during the period his lordship continued in the command, no event of consequence occurred in which Admiral Hotham was so materially concerned as to merit particular notice. Lord Hood having returned to England in November 1794, the command of the squadron became invested in Admiral Hotham, who was employed during the winter in watching the enemy's ports, scouring their coasts, and affording protection to British commerce. In fulfilling these duties, the squadron sustained a series of such bad weather, that for fifteen days they were constantly under storm-stay-sails. Having returned to St. Fiorenzo, the Berwick of 74 guns, in a very heavy sea, lost all her masts, and was rendered incapable of proceeding with the squadron. Such an accident at any time might be considered as a sad disaster, but it was more particularly so at that moment: the affairs of the Mediterranean at that period wore a gloomy aspect; the armies of the old governments were every where giving way before those of republican France, and Tuscany had concluded a peace with the Directory. There were seventeen ships of the line and twelve frigates in Toulon, with thirty transports for the conveyance of troops. Italy was calling on the British admiral for assistance; while Corsica, from the imminent danger she was in, required his utmost attention. To oppose the operations of an active and enterprising enemy, and at the same time to render assistance to the allies of England, Admiral Hotham had only fourteen sail of the line, inclusive of a Neapolitan 74-gun ship; and these were most wretchedly manned, not having much more than half their complement of hands. A knowledge of these circumstances could not fail of operating as an encouragement to the enemy. It was not doubted among them that this alone would be an insurmountable impediment, and totally obviate the exertions that would otherwise have resulted from the well-known abilities and valour of the British admiral. To which is to be added, that notwithstanding the great and glorious victory of the 1st June in the preceding year, and the partial destruction of their fleet at Toulon, the enemy were not yet sufficiently convinced of their inferiority on the ocean, and, in their true republican spirit, affected to hold the British

fleet in contempt. They directed their admiral to proceed to sea, to seek out the English squadron, and destroy it. This being accomplished, which their presumption left them no doubt would soon be the case, their troops were to be landed in Corsica, and the island retaken. At length the time arrived when their boastings were to be put to the test; and on the 8th March, Admiral Hotham, being then in Leghorn roads, received an express from Genoa, that the French fleet, consisting of fifteen sail of the line, had been seen two days before off the Island of Marguerite; which intelligence was immediately confirmed by the arrival of the Moselle, with the additional information that they were steering to the northward. The British fleet was immediately ordered to unmoor, and at daybreak on the following morning put to sea with a strong breeze from E. N. E. shaping their course for Corsica, lest the destination of the enemy should be against that island. Although the French fleet was daily seen by the British advanced frigates, the two squadrons did not get sight of each other till the 12th, when that of the enemy was discovered to windward. However confident the French government might have been of their naval superiority, the officers to whom they intrusted the command of their fleet had no such feeling; for instead of seeking for the British fleet, they no sooner obtained a sight of it, than they stood from it, suffering themselves to be chased by those whom they were taught to despise. Admiral Hotham, therefore, continued the pursuit with all possible sail, and so successfully was it persevered in, that on the following day one of the enemy's ships was brought to action by the Inconstant frigate, Captain Freemantle, who was most ably supported by the Agamemnon, Captain Nelson, to whose united exertions she must have fallen a sacrifice had not some others of the enemy's ships bore down to her support. This encounter, however, retarded the sailing of the enemy's fleet; and on the following day, the disabled ship, and one which had her in tow, were discovered so far to leeward of their main body, that great prospects were held out of cutting them off*. The opportunity was not lost; every exertion was made by the British admiral to reduce the enemy to the alternative of either abandoning those ships, or of coming to an action. Though the French admiral was by no means disposed to risk an action, he could not, without the utmost disgrace, fly from his disabled comrades, and leave them a prey to an enemy whose numerical force was inferior to his own. He therefore

* *London Gazette.*

formed his line and bore down, that he might at least make a show of supporting them. But the advanced ships of the British squadron, the Captain and Bedford, whose signals were made to attack the enemy's rear, were so far advanced, and so well supported by the ships astern, that they effectually separated the two rearmost, and prevented their commander-in-chief from rendering them any assistance. The French admiral, seeing that he could not prevent their capture, and wishing to avoid a closer action, contented himself with firing on the British squadron as they passed on contrary tacks; while the leeward situation of Admiral Hotham's squadron, joined to the damage which the van ships had sustained in their masts and rigging, rendered any farther attempt against an enemy who avoided an action with the utmost care, absolutely impossible*. The ships captured were the Ca Ira of 80 guns, and the Censeur of 74. On board the former were 1300 men, and on board the latter 1000, and each lost between 300 and 400 men. "The Ca Ira and Censeur probably defended themselves with more obstinacy in this action, from a persuasion, that if they struck no quarter would be given, because they had fired red-hot shot, and had also a preparation sent, as they said, by the Convention from Paris, which seems to have been of the nature of the Greek fire, for it became liquid when it was discharged, and water would not extinguish its flames. This combustible was concealed with great care in the captured ships†." The French admiral being thus defeated, and the object of his expedition rendered abortive, he returned to port with all possible sail. Thus was an addition made to the maritime force of the country, thus was an additional ray added to the glory of the English navy, and thus was an additional laurel made to the wreath which crowned the British admiral. For the skill, judgment, and bravery evinced throughout the whole of this affair, Admiral Hotham had the satisfaction to receive the thanks of both Houses of Parliament‡.

* The following is Lord Nelson's opinion of this action, and the difficulties Admiral Hotham had to surmount:

"The enemy would not give us an opportunity of closing with them; if they had, I have no doubt, from the zeal and gallantry endeavoured to be shewn by each individual captain, but we should have obtained a most glorious conquest. ADMIRAL HOTHAM HAS HAD MUCH TO CONTEND WITH: a fleet half manned, and in every respect inferior to the enemy—Italy calling him to her defence—our newly acquired kingdom (Corsica) calling might and main—our reinforcements and convoy hourly expected, and all to be done without a force by any means adequate to it."

† SOUTHEY'S *Life of Nelson*.

‡ On the 16th April he was made admiral of the Blue.

"Admiral Hotham's action saved Corsica for the time, but the victory had been incomplete, and the arrival at Toulon of six sail of the line, two frigates, and two cutters from Brest, gave the French a superiority which, had they known how to use it, would materially have endangered the British Mediterranean fleet. That fleet had been greatly neglected during Lord Chatham's administration at the Admiralty, and it did not for some time feel the beneficial effect of his removal*." The fleet having been refitted at Leghorn, was joined by another Neapolitan 74; and to such a state was the squadron reduced, that this was a subject of exultation. At length Admiral Man arrived with a squadron from England, but with a reinforcement so small to what was expected, that Lord Nelson, in writing to a friend at the time, said, "What they can mean by sending him with only five sail of the line is truly astonishing: but all men are alike, and we in this country do not find any amendment or alteration from the old Board of Admiralty. They should know that half the ships in the fleet require to go to England, and that long ago they ought to have reinforced us†." Having returned to St. Fiorenzo Bay, the admiral dispatched Captain Nelson on the 4th July with a squadron of frigates to co-operate with the Austrian general in the recovery of Genoa; but on the 7th he was much surprised to hear, that they were in the offing pursued by the enemy's fleet. At that time the British squadron was refitting and watering, but every preparation was made to put to sea; and owing to the ability of the officers, the alacrity of the seamen, and the example of the admiral, he was enabled to get them under weigh that night: it was not, however, till the 13th that he obtained a sight of their squadron, which was then to leeward on the larboard tack, and consisted of seventeen sail of the line. The wind blew hard, with a heavy swell, and six of the British ships had to bend main-top-sails, which were split in a gale during the preceding night‡. Admiral Hotham, however, formed his line with the greatest expedition on the larboard line of bearing, carrying all possible sail to preserve that order, and to keep the wind of the enemy, in the hope of cutting them off from the land, which was only five leagues distant. As it became evident that the enemy had no inclination to fight, Admiral Hotham threw out the signal for a general chase, for the ships to take stations for their mutual support, and to engage as they came up. But the gale having ceased, and being succeeded by baffling winds and calms, prevented even

* Southey's *Life of Nelson.* † *Ibid.* ‡ *London Gazette.*

the van ships from reaching farther than the enemy's rear, which was brought to action about noon, and attacked with such spirit, that the Alcide of 74 guns was under the necessity of hauling down her colours: she, however, unfortunately took fire previous to being taken possession of, and was totally destroyed. The rest of their fleet, favoured by a shift of wind, got so far into Frejus Bay, that nothing farther could be effected; the admiral therefore drew off his fleet, and returned to St. Fiorenzo. No other event of consequence occurred during the time Admiral Hotham retained the command of the squadron, and in the month of November following he returned to England.

Having thus sheathed his sword, he retired into the peaceable walks of civil life, where the goodness of his heart, his amiable disposition and urbanity, procured him the respect and esteem of all those who had the honour of his acquaintance. His Majesty was not unmindful of his services, and on the 7th March, 1797, raised him to an Irish peerage, by the title of Baron Hotham, in which he was equally eminent for his good sense and noble deportment. His lordship never afterwards took upon himself any professional command, but continued to live retired, and beloved by all who knew him, till the day of his death, which occurred on the 1st May, 1813.

In the absence of all direct charges of blame, we doubt whether we are warranted in alluding more particularly to the conduct of his lordship during the time he held the Mediterranean command; but feeling particularly alive for the character of our naval defenders in general, and more particularly those who had been so long and so usefully employed, we cannot pass over an assertion made by a naval historian of the present day*, who says, " In this action (13th July) there was a total misapplication of tactic, neither recommended by a Clerk, nor justified by experience." What that misapplication was he does not inform us, except that " the French fleet should have been *attacked by a general chase* as soon as discovered." He describes the bending of new topsails as a useless measure, regrets the time that was lost in forming a line of bearing, and concludes thus: " Of the merits of this action, and that of the 14th March, we shall not presume to offer any farther opinion; the conduct of the admiral was approved by the government, and on his return to England he was created an Irish peer." That being the case, we should consider it a presumptive proof that his conduct was correct,

* Captain Brenton.

and that the preceding remarks might have been spared; or else the whole of the circumstances attending both actions should have been fully stated and examined. At another part of his work*, he introduces a remark of Captain Schomberg's relative to the conduct of Lord Howe in making selections in his official letter of those officers whom his lordship considered as having particularly distinguished themselves on the 1st June, and which remark is to the following effect: " If in the presence of an enemy, or in action, a commander appears deficient either in courage or conduct, it is more candid and decided in a commander-in-chief to have such conduct investigated before a public tribunal, *rather than leave a doubt on the minds of his country by such oblique insinuations,* that some have fallen short of their duty." And in another part†, wherein he alludes to the Life of Mr. Pitt, in which the author introduces a report, that during the evacuation of Toulon, a boat was stowed with wine to the exclusion of the supplicants, he says he does not believe it, and that " the author should either have substantiated or abandoned his foul charge." It would have been quite as well, we think, if the author of the *Naval History* had followed the principle laid down by Captain Schomberg, or that which he says should have been pursued by the author of Mr. Pitt's Life. We think, that if in the presence of an enemy, or in action, a commander appears deficient either in courage or conduct, it is more candid and decided in an historian to investigate fully the whole of the circumstances, and to state his opinion whatever it may be, " rather than leave a doubt on the minds of his country by such oblique insinuations;" and that he " should either have substantiated or abandoned his foul charge." We do not wish to palliate a neglect of duty, to bestow praise where it is not merited; neither do we wish to impute blame where it is not deserved. We by no means state, that the actions fought in the Mediterranean under the command of Admiral Hotham were entitled to unlimited praise, or that they were of equal importance to some others achieved during the war; but we agree in opinion with the *Naval Chronicle,* " that all in their consequences, and at the different periods in which they were achieved, have equal claims upon the country; and let it be remembered, that the accomplishment of each in its order has put the nation in a condition to attain the one in succession."

* Vol. I. p. 305. † Vol. I. p. 237.

We know that a decided victory admits of no dispute; that no doubt can be entertained of its importance; that the admiral who achieves it is held up with universal consent as deserving every honour and recompence commensurate with the service performed. But we also know, that the admiral who, from whatever causes, fails in achieving a victory agreeably to the public idea, is seldom pardoned; that it is almost useless to point out the difference of circumstances, the unfavourable situation of the wind, the defective state of the ships, or the weakness of the crews; and that all reasoning in his favour is generally looked upon as endeavours to screen imbecility and guilt. This circumstance places commanders in very unpleasant situations: to be sure it points out to them what they have to do; and we admit, that an officer is sooner pardoned for attempting that which is beyond his reach, than to fall short of that which is within his power. But still it is the duty of the historian to prove that it was for a want of talent, a want of energy, a want of inclination, in short, he should prove that the fault lay with him, and not deal in "oblique insinuations." Where so much has been said, and by a professional man, we are fearful of hazarding an opinion; but if Captain Brenton, when he says the conduct of Admiral Hotham was not justified by experience, means precedent, we consider that he is wrong. We think the conduct of Lord Hood in the preceding year, and on precisely the same spot, to be a case in point, though he has passed that off without any remark or observation. We also think the conduct pursued by Sir George Rodney when he fell in with Langara off the coast of Spain was precisely similar, though he was more fortunate: the wind continued to fill his sails; he was enabled to reach the enemy, and his exertions were rewarded with the capture of four sail of the line; and we doubt not the same result would have attended the endeavours of Admiral Hotham, had the wind been equally propitious. In the preceding narrative we have endeavoured to state fully the whole of the circumstances attending the operations of the squadron under Admiral Hotham; the difficulties he had to contend with, the defective means which he had to oppose to them, and the success which resulted from his dispositions: and we consider, that in analyzing his conduct, great allowances should be made for the peculiarity of his situation; that it should not be viewed with a partial or prejudiced eye, but with a mind bent upon examining the truth. We should recollect, that it is much easier to set down and point out errors committed, than it is to rectify them during the heat of an engagement;

and we should never forget, that though we have had many bright characters, we have never had one immaculate.

His lordship's private virtues, we believe, have never been questioned; he was a man of unspotted honour, alive to every generous feeling, and whose endeavours were directed to make others as well as himself happy and comfortable.

The above observations may be completely erroneous; Lord Hotham may be deserving of all that has been said or may be said; but we can only say, that we have endeavoured to state our opinions fully and fairly, and that we would much rather err on the side of praise, than on that of censure.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF

Admiral the Right Hon. EARL ST. VINCENT, G.C.B.

THERE are some individuals who derive their splendour from ancient ancestry and a long series of distinguished actions performed by their relatives; but, however enviable or desirable these circumstances may be, those who owe their rise and dignity to their own conduct and talents, and who have benefited their country by their exertions, must be allowed to take precedence of those who have nothing to boast of but riches and a highly traced lineage. Although the family of Jervis appears to be ancient and respectable, and of long standing in the county of Stafford, it does not appear that any branch of it rose to any particular note or eminence: his lordship had therefore little to boast of in the way of pedigree; a circumstance we believe he rather prided himself on than otherwise. His father, Swinfin Jervis, Esq.* barrister at law, for some time held the situations of counsel to the Board of Admiralty and auditor to Greenwich Hospital: he originally intended that his son John, who was born at Meaford, January 9, 1734, should follow the same profession; but this determination was not persevered in, for when about ten years old he entered into the naval service as a midshipman. What his conduct and services were during the time he continued in that situation we are not informed, except that he acted in that capacity on board the Gloucester of 50 guns, bearing the broad pendant of the Hon. George Townshend on the Jamaica station, in 1749. As a proof, however, that he had not been idle, and had made great progress in his profession, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant on the 19th February, 1755, and was shortly after selected to serve in the flag-ship of Sir Charles Saunders, with whom he proceeded to the Mediterranean. With such a judge of naval merit, the qualifications of Lieutenant Jervis could not be overlooked, and were sure to meet with their reward. Having given repeated proofs of his skill in maritime affairs, he was appointed in 1757 acting-captain of the Experiment, in consequence of the indisposition of Sir John Strachan; an event which was particularly fortunate for

* Mr. Jervis married Elizabeth, daughter of George Parker, Esq. of Park Hall, in the same county, and sister to the Right Hon. Sir T. Parker, Knight, Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

Lieutenant Jervis, as during the time he held that command he fell in with a large xebec trader under Moorish colours, mounting 26 guns, besides several large swivels, and a crew, from the number which appeared on the deck, of nearly three times the number of the Experiment. These desperadoes, with their usual ferocity, commenced a furious and animated attack; but being received with the characteristic coolness of British seamen, they became appalled, and shrunk from the contest: they set their sails, and owing to the light winds, smooth water, and other advantages which they possessed from the construction of their vessel, they effected their escape*.

In 1759, he accompanied Sir Charles Saunders as his first lieutenant in the expedition against Quebec, where the cool determined courage of Britons surmounted every obstacle, and placed the town and citadel in their possession. During the whole of the operations Lieutenant Jervis displayed the boldest enterprise, which did not fail to attract the notice of the commander-in-chief, nor to meet with the reward due to distinguished merit, having during the operations been appointed to command the Porcupine sloop. Shortly after this event he returned to England, and was employed in Channel service till October 13, 1760, when he was promoted to the rank of post-captain, and to command the Gosport of 44 guns. In May 1762, he sailed with Admiral Rowley to convoy a fleet of merchantmen to America. After his arrival he assisted at the recapture of St. John's, and was then directed to collect the trade at Virginia, which he accompanied to England.

During the ensuing peace, Captain Jervis retired for a short time to France, where he occupied himself in the most useful and beneficial pursuits. In 1769, he received a commission for the Alarm frigate of 32 guns, with which he proceeded to the Mediterranean; and in the following year, being off Villa Franca, he had the honour of entertaining the Duke de Chablais, a relation of the King of Sardinia, with several Sardinian noblemen. His royal highness, who was received by Captain Jervis with the most distinguished marks of honour and respect, testified the satisfaction he experienced by the magnificent presents he

* We have been unable to ascertain the precise time of this action. Lieutenant Marshall, in the work which he has lately published, has, we think erroneously, placed it after the return of Captain Jervis from Quebec. In this he has followed the order of the *Naval Chronicle*; but it is there stated, that the circumstance occurred two years before he was made a commander; which agrees with the time Mr. Charnock states the Experiment to have been commanded by Sir John Strachan.

distributed on the occasion: to the captain he gave a rich diamond ring, inclosed in a large gold snuff-box; to the two lieutenants a gold box each; to the lieutenant of marines, the midshipman who steered his royal highness, and the four who assisted him up and down the ship's side, a gold watch each; and a sum of money to the ship's company*. In 1772, Captain Jervis had nearly experienced a great misfortune. Whilst lying in the Bay of Marseilles, the Alarm parted from her cables, drove upon the rocks, and was expected to go to pieces: from this perilous situation, however, she was extricated by the great abilities of the Sieur Pleville de Pelley, a lieutenant in the French navy, and for whose great exertions the Lords of the Admiralty presented him, through Captain Jervis, with a case containing several pieces of plate.

Having returned from this station, Captain Jervis was appointed in 1774 to the Foudroyant of 80 guns, most justly considered as one of the finest ships in the British navy: she was originally French, and taken from them in 1758. Captain Jervis proved himself worthy of such a vessel: he was a great disciplinarian; the order and regularity he kept up became proverbial; a circumstance that greatly contributed to lay the foundation of that advancement in the navy which he subsequently experienced: for on the visit of any persons of distinction to the western squadron, they did not fail to honour the Foudroyant with their presence, when the polite and engaging manners of her captain confirmed that good opinion of him which they before entertained only from report. His character consequently became known; he was extolled and courted by the leaders of the opposition party in the House of Commons, and respected by their opponents: so that on the least success which he experienced, both parties were loud in his praise; and hence the rapid advancement, the constant employment, and dignified honours bestowed upon him.

After the commencement of the contest with America, and previous to the war with France, Captain Jervis was employed to cruise in the Channel and Bay of Biscay, as well to capture the vessels of the revolted colonies, as to prevent any illicit intercourse with France. But in the performance of this service he does not appear to have been very successful, as he is mentioned only as the captor of one small vessel, laden with arms and military clothing. A declaration of war against France, however, opened a wider range for a display of his zeal and

* *Annual Register*

abilities. Having joined the Channel fleet under Admiral Keppel, he was appointed by that officer one of his seconds; and in the action off Ushant he was again distinguished for his skill and courage. On the trial of Admiral Keppel, Captain Jervis was of course examined, when his opinion of his commander and the conduct he pursued was fully given. Being asked if the admiral negligently performed his duty on that occasion, he said, "I cannot boast of a long acquaintance with Admiral Keppel; I never had the honour of serving under him before; but I am happy in this opportunity to declare to this court and to the whole world, that during the whole time that the English fleet was in sight of the French fleet he displayed the greatest naval skill and ability, and the boldest enterprise upon the 27th July, which, with the promptitude of Sir Robert Harland, will be subjects of my admiration and emulation as long as I live."

Captain Jervis next claims our attention for the conduct he displayed on the 20th April, 1782, while under the command of Admiral Barrington, in the pursuit of a French squadron, and in the capture of a ship of 74 guns. The signal for a general chase having been made, about sunset Captain Jervis got near enough to discover that the enemy consisted of three or four ships of war, two of them at least of the line, with seventeen or eighteen sail under convoy. The latter was soon after observed to disperse by signal, when the two largest ships spoke each other, and then parted. About nine o'clock Captain Jervis lost sight of the British squadron, but continued the chase with the utmost ardour; and about half-past twelve brought the sternmost ship, Le Pegase of 74 guns and 700 men, to close action, which continued for three quarters of an hour with the greatest fury, when, with the most consummate ability, he laid the enemy on board on the larboard quarter. At this time the French commander finding farther resistance fruitless, having 80 men killed and wounded, his masts and yards much damaged (the mizen-mast and fore-mast fell soon after the action ceased), ordered the colours to be struck. In this gallant contest the Foudroyant sustained but very trifling damages, and had only four men wounded, but amongst them was her brave and active commander, who was struck by a splinter on the temple with such force as to endanger the sight of his right eye. For the zeal, energy, and courage displayed on this occasion, his Majesty was pleased to confer upon Captain Jervis the most honourable order of the Bath; and Admiral Barrington, in transmitting an account of it to

the government, said, " My pen is not equal to the praise that is due to the good conduct, bravery, and discipline of Captain Jervis, his officers, and seamen on this occasion." But notwithstanding this honourable testimony in favour of Captain Jervis, we think more was made of the affair than the circumstances warranted. We do not say that the reward bestowed upon Captain Jervis was greater than the service performed merited; but we say that, comparing it with actions of a similar nature, either it was overrated and Captain Jervis over-rewarded, or that other actions and other commanders have been greatly neglected. Here were several ships of the line in chase of two others, one of which, the Protecteur, had on board a considerable sum of money, and finding they could not both escape, came to the resolution of sacrificing the Pegase, which was inferior to the Foudroyant, and, in addition, was so deeply laden, that she could not open her lower-deck ports (of which Admiral Barrington probably knew nothing at the time he wrote his letter): so that the wonder is, not that the Foudroyant should sustain so little damage, but that the Pegase, under all the circumstances, should, seeing the great disparity which existed, and the impossibility of making a successful resistance, have sustained the contest so long; which can be accounted for in no other way, than to give time to her consort to escape, in which she fully succeeded. It has been said that nothing could have afforded a more remarkable instance of the decided superiority of seamanship and discipline on the one side, and of the great effects those qualifications produced on the other, than the circumstances of this gallant action; but in our opinion they prove the truth of what we have stated.

Towards the end of the year Captain Jervis accompanied Lord Howe to the relief of Gibraltar, and in the action which took place with the combined squadron, he was stationed as one of the seconds to Commodore Hotham, and sustained a loss of 12 men killed and wounded. On the return of the squadron, the Foudroyant and four other ships of the line were ordered to Cork under Vice-Admiral Milbanke, and having cruised off the Irish coast for a short time, they returned to Portsmouth, when Sir John Jervis quitted the Foudroyant, and hoisted a broad pendant on board the Salisbury of 50 guns, as commodore of a small squadron destined for a secret expedition; but hostilities having ceased, it was of course abandoned.

At the general election in 1784 Sir John was chosen M. P. for the town of North-Yarmouth. " In 1786, he was one of the officers con-

vened, in pursuance of his Majesty's instructions, to investigate and report on the expediency of a plan for better securing the dockyards at Portsmouth and Plymouth; and, as well as some other members of the same board, protested against the plan in mild and moderate terms, though at the same time strongly characteristic of the abilities and gallantry of a naval officer, feeling the dignity of his profession injured by the idea of so expensive a project being necessary, and that the navy of England was become insufficient to render the country indisputable protection*."

In March 1787, he distinguished himself greatly in Parliament in advocating the well-known cause of Captain Brodie; and as his conduct on that occasion was highly spoken of, we here insert a copy of his speech.

"I feel it, sir, my indispensable duty to do justice to that great man whose case is now before the House; and to declare on my honour, that a more gallant officer, a person of more zeal, of more true courage, or of more enthusiastic spirit of enterprise, never adorned his Majesty's service. Captain Brodie's repeated application to the Admiralty Board to be employed during the war with Spain, when she joined France against us, was a sufficient answer to any argument that could be adduced from his having, in his application for a pension, declared himself at that time incapable of service. Sir, his active spirit and his professional zeal had induced him to continue in command immediately after the loss of his arm; and the consequence was, that his wounds grew worse, from too much exertion in an unwholesome climate, and he was accordingly rendered incapable of serving for three or four years: but when Captain Brodie grew better, he was desirous to return to the exercise of his duties as an officer; and it would perhaps, sir, have been well for his country, if the Board of Admiralty had accepted his services in 1762, as he was perfectly acquainted with the navigation of that part of the world to which he wished to go, being, I verily believe, from his education before he came into the profession, and his practice and experience afterwards, not only better than most men in the service for that command, but the best pilot in those seas.

"At a time, sir, when party dispute divided the navy, and ran so high as greatly to injure the service, Captain Brodie kept his character not only free from imputation, but his conduct stood conspicuous for its bravery and its merit. A stronger proof of the truth of this assertion

* Charnock.

need not be given to the House than the following fact: It fell to the share of a most distinguished and respectable officer (Admiral Forbes), now at the head of his profession, to sit upon a court-martial then holden upon an officer of eminence. Captain Brodie, who then commanded the Strafford, was a witness, and the former drew from him, though with great reluctance, an account of the proceedings and events of the day on which the conduct of the admiral on his trial had taken place. After hearing Captain Brodie out, the respectable commander in question burst into an exclamation of applause, declaring that the oldest officers in the service might be glad to give up the glory of all the actions of their lives, to have acted as Captain Brodie had done that day. Upon the fact, sir, I ground an appeal to the generosity of the House; and I demand, sir, whether they can refuse to procure for a gallant and meritorious officer, that rank, and those professional honours, to which he is justly entitled; for an officer, sir, worn down with age, and still smarting with wounds received in the service of his country, who has now, in the decline of his life, merely faculties sufficient left to feel the injustice done to him; and who, unless that injustice is speedily remedied, cannot lay his head in peace in the grave*."

On the 24th September, 1787, Captain Jervis was raised to the rank of rear-admiral of the Blue; and in the armament of 1790, he hoisted his flag on board the Prince of 98 guns. Though this threatened state of hostility passed off without ripening into war, and thereby disappointed Admiral Jervis of again signalizing his prowess, a circumstance occurred which equally redounded to his honour as any action he had yet performed, and proved how greatly he watched over rising merit, and how little he was to be biassed by interest in the promotion of officers who were serving under him. Owing to the high reputation he had attained, several of the most distinguished families in the kingdom had placed a son or

* Captain Brodie had been superseded in a promotion of captains to flags on account of his not having served in the last war, an order having been made, that no officer so circumstanced should be promoted; and the motion now made was for an address to the crown, praying that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to take the services of Captain Brodie into his consideration, and confer such mark of his royal favour on him as his Majesty might think proper. This was opposed by ministers on account of its interfering with the king's prerogative; but though Captain Jervis's exertions on behalf of a brother officer, whom he thought neglected, did not in this instance meet with the desired effect, they were productive of regulations in the service which were extremely necessary and beneficial.

relative on board the Prince, and as Sir John was allowed to recommend a midshipman for promotion, each of those fortunate-born youths flattered themselves with being the one chosen; but Sir John required other recommendations than those of private friendship or great connections, and selected the son of an old lieutenant, a young man of merit and abilities, whose talents were his only recommendation to promotion, and wrote him the following letter:

"Sir,—I named you for the lieutenant I was allowed to promote, because you had merited the good opinion of your superiors, and that you were the son of an old and worthy man in no great affluence. A steady perseverance in that conduct which has caused you to be thus distinguished is the most likely means to carry you forward in the profession; for I trust other officers of my rank will observe the maxim I do, to prefer the sons of brother officers, when deserving, before any others*."

War having been declared against France, the West Indies, as usual, became a scene of great importance, and the British government having determined to send a formidable armament to that quarter, Sir John Jervis was nominated to the chief command of the naval force, which consisted of three sail of the line, two of 44 guns, one of 40, four of 32, one of 28, one of 18, and two of 16; which were reinforced on the station by two of 44 and two of 32 guns†. Sir Charles Grey was intrusted with the command of the troops, amounting to upwards of 6000 men. The whole sailed on the 6th November, 1793, and arrived off Barbadoes the beginning of January 1794. Preparations were immediately made to carry into effect the orders with which they were intrusted. Their first object was Martinique, the most important of all the French settlements in those seas, the seat of government and centre of their trade, strong both by nature and art, but at the same time pleasant and fruitful. It was indeed the proper object of the natural strength of England, and by her success in this quarter she most effectually laid the axe to the root of the enemy's naval power; it cut away one part of their resources, and proved to the world to whom the sovereignty of the ocean belonged. Every thing being prepared, the fleet sailed from Barbadoes on the 3d February, and approached Martinique on the 5th. On the following day the general effected a landing, and, after some intermediate operations, the town of St. Pierre was attacked by sea and land, with such vigour and effect that it was carried on the 17th. The enemy then

* *Naval Chronicle.* † Brenton.

concentrated their forces at forts Louis and Bourbon; but the operations of the besiegers were carried on with such ardour, promptitude, and alacrity, that the complete conquest of the island was achieved by the 25th March, in a manner which reflected the highest honour and renown on every one employed in its reduction. Having finished this important service, no time was lost in embarking the troops, stores, ordnance, and ammunition, in order vigorously to follow up the blow which was already given, by an attack on the Island of St. Lucia; and such was the rapidity of their movements, that the whole island surrendered on the 4th April. Another valuable island, Guadaloupe, still remained in possession of the enemy, and thither the British commanders directed their victorious arms. No part of the West Indies, perhaps of the world, affords more agreeable and romantic scenes than Guadaloupe: it is full of high mountains; and no less than fifty rivers, many navigable for boats two or three leagues up the country, throw themselves into the sea; whilst numerous springs which rise in the rocks, after a thousand beautiful meanders, lose themselves in the larger streams; and whilst the vallies are extremely fertile, the mountains abound with game, and the air is more temperate and salubrious than is commonly breathed between the tropics*. The conquest of such an island was therefore particularly desirable, and every preparation was made to obtain possession of it; and by the 21st April, Guadaloupe, with its dependencies, was in possession of the British forces: previous to which, a detachment had been sent against the Saints, which surrendered without opposition.

Thus was reduced to the dominion of Great Britain these valuable islands, after a campaign of little more than three months, in which the British troops behaved with such firmness, courage, and perseverance, as could not fail of being attended with the most decided success; whilst the perfect harmony and good understanding which subsisted between the commanders, inspired the men with perfect confidence, and induced them to act with the greatest cheerfulness and unanimity; to which may be attributed the trifling loss with which those conquests were achieved, the small portion of English blood spilt on the occasion having scarcely stained the laurels of victory. But the clemency of the conquerors is not supposed to have been equal to their valour; and a prostrate enemy, instead of being reconciled to their fate by gentleness, was soon menaced with exactions, wholly incompatible with the right of legitimate warfare.

* *Annual Register.*

No sooner had possession been obtained of Martinique, than some interested adventurers, imposing upon the credulity of the commanders by sea and land, and not content with the booty obtained by the seizure of the shipping and stores, set up a claim to part of the produce of the island, and proposed to indemnify the toils of the captors at the expense of the planters and merchants, now become British subjects. Major-General Dundas began by publishing a proclamation, ordering a true and verified specification of all the colonial productions and provisions of whatever kind and quality within the circumference of the town of St. Pierre*. This was followed by another from Lieutenant-General Prescott, intimating the intention of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, that all the above species of property should be publicly sold for the profit of those who had seized them†. Soon after this, the idea of a *requisition* was extended from the town of St. Pierre to the whole island; but as this bore too close an affinity to the conduct of the French in Europe, a commutation was at length suggested; and the governor proposed to the astonished inhabitants, to meet commissaries " appointed by their excellencies for the purpose of fixing, in an equitable and efficacious manner, on a general contribution (the amount of which was to be made known to the representative of each parish), to be paid by all those who possess property in the colony ; the commanders in chief having decided that such an arrangement would be more convenient than a general confiscation‡." As the colonists did not assemble in compliance with the orders issued, the commanders-in-chief explained their intentions in a subsequent proclamation, denouncing a general seizure if they delayed any longer to appoint commissioners " to confer on the most equitable and most expeditious ways and means to raise a sum of money adequate to the value of the conquest, destined to reward the valour, to compensate the excessive fatigues, and their consequences, sickness and mortality, and to make good the heavy expense incurred by the British officers, soldiers, and sailors, who, with unshaken firmness and matchless perseverance, have achieved the conquest of the island, subjected it to the British government, rescued from a wretched exile the greatest part of its inhabitants, and restored them to the quiet possession of their property, the confiscation of which had been already declared‖."—" Nor was this novel and extraordinary measure confined to the Island of Martinique; for it was enforced at

* Dated St. Pierre, February 19, 1794. † Dated April 10, 1794.
‡ Dated May 10th. ‖ Dated 21st May.

Guadaloupe, and part of the composition-money actually received; nor can there be the least doubt but that the whole would have been exacted, had not the ministry at length interposed, and, greatly to their honour, put an end to a system of spoliation that would have for ever disgraced the British name*."

The rapid success, however, of the British arms in this quarter did not last long: though the British cross now waved in triumph in all the enemy's colonies, a sudden and totally unexpected reverse of fortune took place in the month of June. Notwithstanding the convulsions and divisions which existed in France, the energy of her government, and the enterprizing spirit of some of her leaders, were particularly manifested at this period. A small squadron was fitted out, consisting of two large frigates and five transports, having about 1500 troops, under the command of Victor Hughes, a man of desperate fortune and desperate courage, and favoured upon this occasion by a combination of circumstances singularly auspicious. After escaping all the English cruisers, he arrived at Guadaloupe, where he found every thing to second his operations. General Dundas (the governor) and the second in command were ill of a fever, which terminated their existence; while the troops were thinned by contagion and debilitated by sickness, and the inhabitants were dissatisfied and disaffected in consequence of the recent events. In this extremity, the French commander found little difficulty in making good a landing at Grande-Terre: he issued a proclamation for the emancipation of the slaves, who, actuated by the hope of pillage and plunder, rallied round the cap of liberty; which induced him to attack Pointe à Petre, which he carried by storm, and obtained possession of the whole of that part of the island.

Sir John Jervis and Sir Charles Grey were at St. Christopher's, and about to sail for England, when they received this unpleasant but important intelligence. Immediate preparations were accordingly made to recover this part of the island, but, after a variety of attempts, they were obliged to re-embark, and retire to Martinique, station a naval force for the protection of Basse-Terre, and solicit immediate succour from England.

The French commander, however, did not remain inactive; he issued a proclamation, in which he stated, that "one republican battalion, two frigates, and three transports, had defeated a British admiral with six

* Stephens.

ships of the line, twelve frigates, and eight sloops of war, together with a general at the head of twelve battalions;" and having now collected a large body of freebooters, he began to extend his views, eluded the vigilance of the English shipping, and effected landings at Goyave and Lamentin; attacked the English camp, and obliged General Graham to capitulate; and compelled General Prescott to evacuate fort Matilda, in spite of every effort made by Sir John Jervis to assist him. "Thus, in consequence of the exertions of a single individual, aided by a small force from the mother country, and armed with a few lines annulling slavery, Guadaloupe was restored to France; and when it is recollected, that although uninstructed in the art of war, he completely baffled the activity, enterprize, and professional skill of two of the ablest commanders in the service of Great Britain, it is but candid to add, that if the humanity of Victor Hughes had been as conspicuous as his talents, he would have been surpassed by few men of the present age*."

The season for all farther operations being now closed, Sir John Jervis, worn down by long and severe exertions, the fatigues of which were augmented by his anxiety for the welfare of the service, which not all his ability could promote without the arrival of a strong reinforcement, found himself no longer able to continue on this station: he therefore embarked for England, and arrived in Plymouth Sound, January 5, 1795; and afterwards proceeded to Spithead, where, in the month of May, the Boyne took fire, and burnt for above five hours, when she drifted on the shore at the east end of the Spit, and blew up. Few lives were lost, but some injury was done to the houses in the town by the explosion; two men were killed on board the Queen Charlotte by a shot from one of the main-deck guns, which went off as they became heated. The cause of this accident was never perfectly ascertained, though it is generally supposed, and with great reason, that she caught fire in the admiral's cabin, from the funnel of the ward-room stove (which passed through the decks) being overheated. By this accident Sir John Jervis lost many valuable papers and much property.

That we might not interfere too much with the narrative of the movements of the squadron, and the consequences attending them, we purposely omitted to notice, that immediately on the success attending the expedition being known in England, resolutions of thanks to Sir John Jervis and Sir Charles Grey passed both Houses of Parliament; the

* Stephens.

freedom of the city of London was voted to them in boxes of one hundred guineas value; and a general sentiment of gratitude for such important services appeared to pervade the whole community. But when the subsequent measures of the commanders became known; when authentic information was received, that they were levying a contribution on the inhabitants for the purpose of putting it into their own pockets, the West India planters were surprised and alarmed, and immediately adopted the most efficacious measures to put a stop to such exactions. A memorial was presented to the Duke of Portland, in which they observed, that " when the information was received in this country, that a contribution, or commutation for relinquishing an assumed right to a general plunder of all property in the captured French islands in the West Indies, was claimed and enforced, they did not give credit to it, especially as the communication was confined to one or two mercantile houses: they, however, felt so much alarmed, as to desire the gentlemen who had received the letters respecting it, would lay before his Majesty's ministers the information they had received; when they had the satisfaction to understand from Mr. Pitt, that this proceeding, in the shape in which it then appeared to him, was subject to much objection, and would, in his opinion, be disapproved of by his Majesty's government."

This was succeeded by another memorial from the same body, dated February 6, 1795; a third from the agents in behalf of the inhabitants and proprietors of the Island of Martinique; and a fourth from the merchants of Liverpool, in which, after mentioning " the late indiscriminate seizure and general confiscation of West India produce found in the Islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe, and the heavy contribution levied upon the unfortunate planters and merchants of St. Lucia, who willingly submitted on the first summons," they conceive it to be necessary " to order a restitution of the inglorious booty acquired by our commanders, and now in the hands of their agents in the West Indies and in Europe; because it will still farther tend to confirm the confidence of newly acquired subjects in the wisdom, equity, and moderation of his Majesty's councils and government, and in the faith of the British nation."

In another memorial from the West India planters and merchants of London, dated May 4, 1795, they advert to their former representations relative to " the unprecedented conduct of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis on taking possession of the French captured islands; which

conduct they must consider," it is added, " as the primary and efficient cause of the progress which the enemy has lately been enabled to make, whether in a recovery of a part of the French colonies, or in the plunder and devastation of our own."

Having stated these charges against Sir John Jervis and Sir Charles Grey, it is but just that we should notice their defence, which they addressed to the Duke of Portland. To the apprehensions entertained that, in case of a reverse of fortune, the French government would treat our subjects as we had treated theirs, which would be little short of total ruin to the memorialists, and a considerable number of other individuals, they say: " To this we can give no other answer, than that the peculiar nature of the war, and the orders transmitted to us by his Majesty's ministers, left us no discretion as to the treatment either of that government or its supporters. Upon a reference to our secret instructions, your grace will perceive that government to be represented as a usurpation, having no legal authority, and its supporters as rebels and traitors. We are directed by an order in council to prevent foreigners resorting to that island without licence; and that order by a letter from one of his Majesty's confidential servants is explained as ' clearly making the intention of the British government to keep out of the conquered islands all persons whose principles were in the least degree to be suspected;' and he adds, ' I hope you have driven out of them all persons of this description.' We certainly acted in conformity to the policy here laid down in many instances. The subjects of the French government, or the pretended National Convention, as it is termed in the proclamation, were in many instances sent away, and their estates sequestered: this became necessary for the security of these islands, which in all our letters and instructions we considered ourselves directed to secure as a permanent acquisition to the crown of Great Britain. It became the more necessary as our force became weaker. But for the precedent established by these proceedings we are not responsible; and to the sequestered estates receivers were appointed for the benefit of government. They still continue, we believe, to receive for government the profits of those estates, from which the captors have in no one instance derived any advantage or emolument to themselves." They then went on to state, that " no town or district, or any body or description of the inhabitants, ever signified an intention to accept or accede to the terms of the proclamation of the 1st January,

1794*. On the contrary, in many places the inhabitants manned batteries to oppose the attack of his Majesty's troops, and in every other respect contributed to resist them; they even fired upon our flags of truce. Upon the conquest of islands under such circumstances, we conceived it to be our duty to secure such property as appeared to us unquestionable booty. We apprehend it was our duty to do so upon two grounds; viz. to protect the rights of his Majesty; and to secure to the officers, seamen, and soldiers, such booty as his Majesty had, or might think fit to grant them, as a reward for their services. The booty taken on shore we conceive to be given to the navy and army by his Majesty's separate instructions to Sir Charles Grey, and by Mr. Dundas's confirmation of our plan of division of booty in his letter to Sir Charles of the 7th March, 1794.

"Having submitted to your grace our ideas respecting booty, we request your grace's attention to the nature and extent of the seizure actually made. The principal estates in the island were in the possession of republican agents as confiscated property, and the produce had been sent to the towns of St. Pierre and Fort Royal (which were both taken by assault), in order to be shipped to France, or otherwise disposed of on account of the republic. The planters resident on the island had likewise sent produce to St. Pierre, to be shipped or sold. The former description of property we considered as belonging to the French government, and as such to be lawful prize. The latter we considered as subject to confiscation, in consequence of the proprietors having resisted his Majesty's forces, or declined accepting the terms offered by the proclamation of the 1st January. The towns being taken by assault, the property in them, according to the common practice of war, was exposed to plunder; but the troops were restrained from any act of that kind, by the assurances given them that they would be much more benefited by a fair and equal distribution of booty, than by indiscriminate pillage. Under the circumstances in which the towns were taken, it was the opinion of the navy and army, that all the property found in them was to be considered as prize or booty. We declined sanctioning

* In this proclamation, the commanders invited all the friends of peace, government, religion, and order, to throw off tyrannical oppression, and to set themselves free from the horrors of anarchy, by having recourse to the protection and government of a just and beneficent sovereign; and at the same time promised all those who should submit quietly and peaceably to the authority of his Majesty, personal security, and full and immediate enjoyment of their lawful possessions.

seizures to this extent; but being of opinion that the produce of the island found at St. Pierre was unquestionable prize, as belonging either to the republican government, or to individuals who had resisted the British forces, or rejected the terms offered by the proclamation of the 1st January, we directed the seizure of it. *No other private property of any description was molested.* Although the town of St. Pierre was taken by assault, yet the shops in it were publicly open the next day, and the inhabitants employed in disposing of their property and transacting their business as usual. The provisions and necessaries supplied to the navy and army were regularly paid for, and every species of general merchandise (provisions included) was left in the unobstructed disposition of the inhabitants. The property seized on shore consisted only of the following articles, the produce of the island; viz. sugar, cocoa, coffee, cotton, and cassia.

" The transactions which we have hitherto detailed or referred to relate principally to Martinique, that being the only island from whence the captors have derived any advantage from the captured property. After the conquest of that island, St. Lucia was the next object of attack, and was regularly summoned to surrender. The summons was rejected; the British troops landed in different places on the 1st April, and all the different forts and batteries were completely taken possession of on the 4th: but although there was no force on the island to make an effectual resistance against that sent to attack it, and the inhabitants had known for three months that it would be attacked, yet every resistance was made that the force of the island was capable of; and no town, fortress, or any description of the inhabitants, either capitulated or surrendered, or proposed to surrender, upon the terms offered in the proclamation of the 1st January." This being the case, " the navy and army conceived they had a right to treat all the produce of the island that had been manufactured and sent to the town of Castries (the shipping port), and also that upon the plantations in the possession of the agents of the republic, as liable to confiscation, which, at the time of the capture, extended to part of the crop of the year. Some merchants who had been appointed by the commanders-in-chief to act as prize-agents, suggested to the principal planters and merchants, that it would be a beneficial measure for them, to offer the navy and army a sum of money to wave their claims to a confiscation of the produce; and that it would easily be raised by way of assessment or contribution on the different towns and estates in the

island, in proportion to their property or value, and paid by instalments at different periods. The first sum mentioned as an equivalent for the captors waving their claims to all confiscation whatever, was 300,000*l.* which fell infinitely short of the value of the colonial produce then upon the island. This sum was, however, by negociation and explanation, reduced to a moiety; and an agreement was entered into by the principal inhabitants for the payment of 150,000*l.* by instalments; viz. 50,000*l.* in 1794, the like sum in 1795, and the remainder in 1796. The houses of Bailie and Co. and Munro and Co. of Granada, proposed to come forward as sureties for the island, and to give bills on London, dated August 1794, payable at six months' sight, for the first 50,000*l.* This proposal, which held out to the captors the certainty of a large sum of money, without the trouble attending the seizure, condemnation, and sale of the enemy's property, was accepted, under the idea that they would experience no farther trouble or difficulty about it. The gentlemen who had proposed to give bills for the money, suggested from time to time such orders or proclamations as they thought would be most likely to carry into effect the arrangement agreed upon; but instead of the captors deriving any advantage whatever from this plan of a contribution, not a single shilling ever did or will come into their hands from it. Instead of gaining any thing, the captors were completely defrauded of every ounce of property on the island, except the arms and military stores that were applied to the service of the public. So far from having pillaged or plundered the inhabitants of St. Lucia (with which they are charged), the captors have not to the present hour received, nor have they any probability of receiving, a single farthing arising from prize or booty taken on shore, except the value of the military stores. We believe a sum of 10,000*l.* or 12,000*l.* was collected in the island in part of the proposed contribution, and towards payment of the first instalment thereof, but not one shilling of it was received by the captors; and upon its being intimated to us, that the receipt of any sum of money under the denomination of contribution would not meet with his Majesty's approbation, we directed whatever had been collected to be returned, which was accordingly done in November 1794."—Respecting that part of the proclamation of the 21st May, where it is proposed " to raise a sum of money adequate to the value of the conquest," the commanders say, " we trust we are not to have our conduct decided on by rigid criticism upon the language of our public orders. That the acts done by us, and not

the phraseology of a paper we may have signed, will be attended to. But if we are to descend from the stations of general and admiral to answer verbal criticisms, we need only suggest a small variation in the language of the paper we are speaking of, to render it perfectly consistent with the idea above suggested; viz. that of accepting a composition for the restitution of property liable to confiscation. If, instead of the words 'adequate to the value of the conquest,' your grace will be pleased to substitute the words 'adequate to the value of the property liable to confiscation,' nothing will be found in that paper inconsistent with our idea of the rights of the crown, and the plan of accepting a composition upon declining to enforce them. It can never be supposed, that by the words, 'adequate to the value of the conquest,' we meant the value of the island and all the property in it; even the gentlemen who complain of us do not impute to us so extravagant an idea. 'The value of the conquest' must be understood as referable to the property which the conquest of the island had made the subject of booty, and which the captors conceived had been conferred upon them by his Majesty's separate instructions to Sir Charles Grey. But whether the contribution which these proclamations proposed to levy was just or unjust, either in principle or extent, we did not expect that it would now be made a subject of inquiry, as not a single farthing was collected. The project was, in fact, abandoned long before it was known that his Majesty disapproved of contributions. No loss or injury of any kind was in point of fact sustained by the inhabitants, nor have they themselves expressed any discontent or dissatisfaction, though advantage has been taken of these proceedings to load us with every sort of misrepresentation and abuse.

"Since our return to England, we have made all the inquiry in our power with respect to the practice in former wars, where any island or place had been carried by assault; and instead of discovering that we have exceeded former practice with respect to the seizure of booty, we find that we have fallen very short of it. In his Majesty's separate instructions to Sir Charles Grey, directions are given with respect to the division of any booty that might be taken on shore; and we therefore presumed that it must have been his Majesty's intention, that such property, as by the rights and practice of war became vested in the crown, should be seized, and distributed between the navy and army as booty. We have always understood it to be admitted, as a general proposition, that goods taken from an enemy are the property of the conquerors; and

that it is acknowledged right by the law of nations, to seize enemy's goods wherever they can be found, if the victors are not restrained from doing so under some compact or capitulation. Seizures of a similar nature to that made by us at Martinique have been made in every war many years past; as for instance, at Vigo in 1702, Payta in 1741, Senegal in 1759, Havannah in 1763, Omoa in 1780, and at St. Eustatia in 1781. The property taken at the last-mentioned place included all the goods and effects of every description found upon the island, except some inconsiderable quantities given up to a few individuals; and yet no instructions were given to the admiral and general for making such a seizure. It was, however, afterwards approved of by his Majesty, and a grant made of the whole property in favour of the captors.

"In the situation in which we were placed much was left to our discretion; his Majesty pointed out the objects he wished to accomplish, but the means were left to us; and with respect to all inferior objects, they were left to our management, without any instructions whatever. If we have exceeded or abused the powers delegated to us, we are not only amenable to his Majesty in a court military, but to all individuals in the ordinary courts of justice. We are persuaded that neither your grace nor any other of his Majesty's ministers will think us objects of censure on the ground of mere unexecuted intentions, even if they should be found to have originated in error or mistake. We are convinced, that it never occurred to the inhabitants of the captured islands, that we had treated them with unwarranted severity, until the idea was suggested to them by British traders who had interested views to answer. Our conduct was approved by the principal planters and the public officers of the island, as your grace will perceive by the testimonials which we take the liberty to subjoin. Various misrepresentations having been circulated as to the value and extent of the property seized, it is proper that your grace should be informed, that the whole that was taken, both afloat and ashore (excepting arms and military stores), produced only 183,000*l.* our proportion of which, should it not be diminished by claims or litigation, or by dishonoured bills, will be 11,437*l.* each. We trust your grace will excuse our having entered at such great length into the discussion of the subject, as we consider our personal honour, and the reputation we have hitherto held in society, as seriously attacked*." Such

* We have searched Captain Brenton's work for any kind of defence of the conduct of Sir John Jervis in this expedition, but we have searched in vain. He, however, says, that

was the nature of the defence made by Sir John Jervis and Sir Charles Grey.

The subject was, however, at length agitated in the House of Commons, and a vote of censure proposed; but the opposition members siding with the ministers, it was negatived. It must, however, be observed, that during the whole of this controversy, no charges of a military nature were brought against those distinguished individuals, and their conduct was approved of in the most unequivocal terms by passing the following resolutions, which were carried with only one dissentient voice:

"That the inhabitants of the French West India Islands, not having availed themselves of the proclamation of the 1st January, 1794, the

"no sooner had Sir John landed in his native country, than complaints were sent to the government against himself and the general, for injustice and extortion in the performance of their duty;" and "many believed them to be well founded:" but he says he knows them "to have originated in fraud," and rejoices to add, that "the wisdom of Parliament decided that the admiral and the general, in the conduct they had pursued, had done their duty." The "wisdom of Parliament" also decided, that Admiral Hotham had done his duty; and although his Majesty raised him to a peerage, Captain Brenton did not think that sufficient evidence of his having done so. We have, however, another observation to make on this part of Captain Brenton's work. At page 14, he gives a list of the ships which sailed from England with Sir John, and also those which joined at Martinique, which we have given at page 284, and which we should have supposed would have been given complete; but in addition to that number, Sir John had four sail of the line and two frigates, which may be seen by attending to Captain Brenton's own narrative of the proceedings, as he mentions the services of the Vanguard, Irresistible, Asia, Assurance, Santa Margaretta, and Blonde, not one of which is named in his list. He, moreover, endeavours to throw the blame on General Vaughan and Admiral Caldwell for what subsequently took place. "If our admiral and general," he says, "were deficient in local knowledge, they were still more so in land forces, to oppose the enemy; but in ships they were infinitely superior. Vice-Admiral Caldwell had brought out with him three sail of the line, the Majestic, Theseus, and Bellona, of 74 guns each: besides these, he had under his orders a sufficient number of frigates and smaller vessels, to have kept a vigilant watch on the windward side of Guadaloupe, *whence* any reinforcement coming from France might be expected to appear." But though Admiral Caldwell did bring out with him three sail of the line, it should be stated that Sir John Jervis took *one* away with him; and we think it was as much his duty, and that he "had under his orders a sufficient number of frigates and smaller vessels to have kept a vigilant watch on the windward side of Guadaloupe," as well as Admiral Caldwell; and that it was the duty of the historian to have pointed it out as well in the one instance as the other: but we suppose that the same "parental kindness" did not exist between the author and the commanders in both cases. There is, however, one observation of Captain Brenton's in which we fully agree: that "we seldom want valour in the presence of an enemy, but are frequently deficient in vigilance;" which was fully proved in the latter part of Sir John's conduct in the West Indies.

said proclamation cannot be considered as having formed a general rule for the conduct of the commanders of his Majesty's forces by sea and land, respecting the persons and properties of the inhabitants of those islands.

" Resolved, That the proclamations of the 10th and 21st May, 1794, not having been carried into effect, it is unnecessary for this House to give any opinion thereupon.

" Resolved, That this House retains the cordial sense which they have already expressed in their vote of the 10th May, 1794, of the distinguished merit and services of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis in the conquest of the French islands."

This decision of the House was followed by a grand entertainment given by the Grocers' Company to the joint commanders; and on the presentation of the freedom of the city, the chamberlain, Mr. Wilkes, addressed them as follows:

" Permit, gentlemen, the city wreaths to be mixed with the laurels you have fairly won, and which a general applause must more and more endear to you. These sentiments of gratitude pervade the country in which we live, while they animate the metropolis of the empire. They give a full indemnity against the slanderous breath of envy, and the foul calumnies of the envied serpent tongue of malice, which in these latter times has scarcely ceased to detract from, and endeavour to wound superior merit."

The affair being thus terminated, Sir John was appointed to the chief command in the Mediterranean, and proceeded thither on board the Lively frigate, commanded by Captain Lord Garlies. He arrived off Corsica early in January 1796, and shortly after Admiral Hotham resigned to him the high and important trust, when he hoisted his flag on board the Victory of 110 guns. Although the enemy's fleet at Toulon still amounted to near twenty sail of the line, it did not attempt to put to sea; but the situation of Sir John Jervis was by no means easy or unimportant. The enemy's fleet was ready to sail at a moment's notice, and therefore required constant watching; " Corsica was held only by the power of the sword, and the French were hourly on the alert to wrest it from us; the armies or the influence of the republic now covered Italy from the Alps to Otranto; the King of Sardinia trembled, and the Grand-Duke of Tuscany had nothing left but submission: in short, there was no port in the Mediterranean which the English might safely enter

nearer than Gibraltar, the distance from which, and the difficulty of procuring supplies, with the want of every necessary for a fleet, together with the selfish and mercenary cunning of the Barbary powers, rendered the situation of commander-in-chief in those seas one of great *ardour* and difficulty*."

To meet these arduous duties, the mind of Sir John Jervis was found fully adequate. "While this able officer held in his hands the honour of the British flag, the safety of her Mediterranean commerce, and her connection with the princes of the houses of Bourbon and Austria, the government at home was not unmindful of his situation; but an unfortunate prevalence of westerly winds kept his supplies and his reinforcements alarmingly deficient, both in the number of his ships and the quantity of naval stores. The misfortunes were aggravated by the unaccountable conduct of Rear-Admiral Mann, whom we have seen detached with six sail of the line in quest of Richery; but apprehensive of not being able to rejoin his commander-in-chief, he returned with his squadron to England, at a time when every reinforcement he could have carried with him would not have placed Sir John Jervis on an equality with his enemies. From a situation so embarrassing, nothing but his own genius and energy could have extricated him. After receiving off Toulon the long-expected orders for the evacuation of Corsica, he repaired to Fiorenzo Bay, where he instantly began, in concert with the viceroy, to plan and to execute the laborious task. Nelson was sent to Bastia, to manage the embarkation of every thing at the seat of government; Towry in the Diadem, and Macnamara in the Southampton, had charge of Calvi and Ajaccio, and to embark all the naval stores at the latter place, where we had established a dock-yard. Captain Tyler in the Aigle was in the Adriatic, and kept up a communication with the Austrian armies under Marshal Würmser from Ancona to the Po. Cockburn in the Minerve blockaded Leghorn and the coast of Genoa; and Freemantle was sent with letters of conciliation and well-timed presents to the African princes. Captain Richard Bowen of the Terpsichore was stationed at Gibraltar, to cover the supplies of the rock, and protect the convoys between that port and the coast of Barbary†."

Such were the dispositions of Sir John Jervis to meet the arduous duties of his situation. But when the court of Spain suffered itself to be affected by the influence and the threats of France, and became so

* Brenton. † *Ibid.*

far terrified as to renounce its connection with England, and declare war against her; when the political state of affairs became so materially altered, the difficulties of his situation were doubled, and he found himself under the necessity of quitting a station, the inferiority of his force would allow him no longer to retain. "While he retreated from a superior force, the admiral, with that judgment and true patriotism which should ever be held up as an example to our service, forgot not the interests of the British merchants. The Smyrna fleet had been brought down by his wise and prudent management as far as Fiorenzo Bay; and when every thing was completed for the evacuation of Corsica, he directed each ship of war to take one of these valuable vessels in tow; and thus, with the momentary expectation of falling in with the combined fleets, he retreated to Gibraltar, where he arrived in December, and where he was doomed to experience misfortunes, and to witness the farther diminution of his fleet by the most untoward accidents.*" The Courageux was driven over to the Barbary coast, where she was wrecked; and the Gibraltar struck upon the Pearl Rock, and was so much damaged, that she was obliged to proceed to England. "These accidents reduced the number of ships under the command of Sir John Jervis to ten sail of the line; with these he pursued his way to Lisbon, where he arrived on the 21st December, 1796, and where he had the farther mortification of losing the Bombay Castle of 74 guns, which grounded on the South Catchup going into the Tagus; leaving only nine sail of the line to contend against the French and Spanish fleets, while the services expected of him were greatly augmented. He was directed by instructions from England to guard at once against the union of the French and Spanish fleets, to defend the coast of Portugal, prevent an attack on Lisbon and Gibraltar, and counteract any design to invade England or Ireland†." The British admiral, however, prepared to contend against these difficulties, and to carry into effect the object of his instructions with his usual ability, and finally reaped that reward which is due to distinguished valour and perseverance. Having been reinforced with six sail of the line under Sir William Parker, he prepared to seek his enemy; but on leaving the Tagus, an accident befel the St. George of 98 guns: she ran on shore, and was so much damaged as to be unable to proceed. On the arrival of Sir John off Cape St. Vincent, he continued on that spot to await the appearance of the enemy's fleet from Carthagena, which he was well assured

* Brenton. † *Ibid.*

would not be long. This proved to be the case, for on the night of the 13th February their signal-guns were perfectly distinguishable. But so certain was he that an action would take place, that he had previously made the signals to prepare for action, and for the ships to keep close order during the night.

As Colonel Drinkwater's account* of the splendid victory which ensued, has been described as the fullest, most accurate, and masterly description which has ever been given of a naval action, we shall take the liberty to make a few extracts from it.

"At daybreak on the 14th, St. Valentine's-day, the British fleet was in complete order, formed in two divisions, standing on a wind to the south-south-west. The morning was hazy. About half-past six, the Culloden made the signal for five sail in the south-west-by-south quarter; which was soon after confirmed by the Lively and Niger frigates, and that the strange sail were by the wind on the starboard tack: the Bonne Citoyenne sloop was therefore ordered to reconnoitre. At a quarter-past eight o'clock, the squadron was ordered by signal to form in a close order; and in a few minutes afterwards the signal was repeated to prepare for battle. About half-past nine o'clock, the Culloden, Blenheim, and Prince George were ordered to chase in the south-by-west quarter, which, upon the Bonne Citoyenne making a signal that she saw eight sail in that quarter, was afterwards strengthened by the Irresistible, Colossus, and Orion. A little past ten o'clock, the Minerve frigate made the signal for twenty sail in the south-west quarter; and in a few minutes after, of eight sail in the south-by-west. Half an hour afterwards, the Bonne Citoyenne made the signal that she could distinguish sixteen, and immediately afterwards, twenty-five of the strange ships to be of the line. The enemy's fleet was indeed now become visible to all the British squadron.

"The ships first discovered by the Culloden were separated from their main body, which being to windward, were bearing down in some confusion, with a view of joining their separated ships. It appeared to have been the British admiral's intention, on discovering the separated ships of the enemy's fleet, to have cut them off, if possible, before the main

* The colonel was on board the Lively frigate, Captain Lord Garlies, under orders for England; but as a battle was fully expected, his lordship, and General Elliot, who was also on board, requested to remain and witness the issue; and the Lively acted as repeater during the action.

body could arrive to their assistance; and with this view, the fast-sailing ships of his squadron were ordered to chase. Assured now of the near position of their main body, he probably judged it most advisable to form his fleet in the line of battle; and the signal was made for their forming the line of battle ahead and astern, as most convenient. A signal was made, directing the squadron to steer south-south-west. About twenty minutes past eleven o'clock, the admiral pointed out that the Victory, his flag-ship, would take her station next to the Colossus. Some variation in steering was afterwards directed, in order to let the rear ships close up. At twenty-six minutes past eleven o'clock, the admiral communicated his intention to pass through the enemy's line, hoisting his large flag and ensign; and soon after the signal was made to engage.

"The British van by this time had approached the enemy, and the destination of leading the English line into action fell to the lot of the Culloden, commanded by Captain Troubridge. About half-past eleven o'clock, the firing commenced from the Culloden against the enemy's headmost ships to windward. As the British squadron advanced the action became more general, and it was soon apparent that the British admiral had accomplished his design of passing through the enemy's line. The animated and regular fire of the British squadron was but feebly returned by the enemy's ships to windward, which, being frustrated in their attempts to join the separated ships, had been obliged to haul their wind on the larboard tack. Those to leeward, and which were most effectually cut off from their main body, attempted also to form on their larboard tack, apparently with a determination of either passing through or to leeward of our line, and joining their friends; but the warm reception they met with from the centre ships of our squadron soon obliged them to put about, and, excepting one, the whole sought safety in flight, and did not again appear in the action till the close of the day. This single ship, which persevered in passing to leeward of the British line, was so covered with smoke, that her intention was not discovered till she had reached the rear; when she was not permitted to pass without notice, but received the fire of our sternmost ships, and as she luffed round the rear, the Lively and other frigates had also the honour of exchanging with this two-decker several broadsides.

"Sir John Jervis having effected his first purpose, now directed his whole attention to the enemy's main body to windward, consisting at

this time of eighteen sail of the line. At eight minutes past twelve, the signal was therefore made for the British fleet to tack in succession; and soon after, the signal for again passing the enemy's line.

"The Spanish admiral's plan seemed to be, to join his ships to leeward by wearing round the rear of our line; and the ships which had passed and exchanged shot with our squadron, had actually borne up with this view. This design, however, was frustrated by the timely opposition of Commodore Nelson, whose station in the rear of the British line afforded him an opportunity of observing this manœuvre, and of frustrating the Spanish admiral's intention. His ship, the Captain, had no sooner passed the rear of the enemy's ships that were to windward, than he ordered her to wear, and stood on the other tack towards the enemy. In executing this bold and decisive manœuvre the commodore reached the sixth ship from the enemy's rear, which was the Spanish admiral's flag, the Santissima Trinidada of 136 guns, a ship of four decks, and said to be the largest in the world. Notwithstanding the inequality of force, the commodore instantly engaged this colossal opponent, and for a considerable time had to contend, not only with her, but her seconds ahead and astern, of three decks each. While he sustained this unequal combat, which was viewed with admiration, mixed with anxiety, his friends were flying to his support; and the enemy's attention was soon directed to the Culloden, Captain Troubridge, and in a short time, to the Blenheim of 90 guns, Captain Frederick, who very opportunely came to his assistance. The intrepid conduct of the commodore staggered the Spanish admiral, who already appeared to waver in pursuing his intention of joining the ships cut off by the British fleet; when the Culloden's arrival, and Captain Troubridge's spirited support of the Captain, together with the approach of the Blenheim, followed by Rear-Admiral Parker with the Prince George, Orion, Irresistible, and Diadem, not far distant, determined the Spanish admiral to change his design altogether, and to make the signal for the ships of his main body to haul their wind, and to make sail on the larboard tack. Advantage was now apparent in favour of the British squadron, and not a moment was lost in improving it. As the ships of Rear-Admiral Parker's division approached the enemy's ships, in support of the Captain and her gallant seconds, the Blenheim and Culloden, the cannonade became more animated and impressive. The superiority of the British fire over that of the enemy, and its effects on the enemy's hulls and sails,

were so evident, that there was no longer any hesitation in pronouncing a glorious termination to the contest.

"The British squadron at this time was formed in two divisions, both on the larboard tack: Rear-Admiral Parker, with the Blenheim, Culloden, Prince George, Captain, Orion, and Irresistible, composed one division, which was engaged with the enemy's rear; Sir John Jervis, with the other division, consisting of the Excellent, Victory, Barfleur, Namur, Egmont, Goliah, and Britannia, was pressing forward in support of his advanced squadron, but had not yet approached the real scene of action. While the British advanced division warmly pressed the enemy's centre and rear, the admiral meditated with his division a co-operation, which must effectually compel some of them to surrender. In the confusion of their retreat, several of the enemy's ships had doubled on each other, and in the rear they were three or four deep. It was, therefore, the British admiral's design to reach the weathermost of these ships, and then to bear up and rake them all in succession with the seven ships composing his division. His object afterwards was to pass on to the support of his van division, which, from the length of time they had been engaged, he judged might be in want of it. The casual position, however, of the rear ships of his van division prevented his executing this plan. The admiral, therefore, ordered the Excellent, the leading ship of his own division, to bear up, and with the Victory he himself passed to leeward of the enemy's rearmost and leewardmost ships, which, though almost silenced in their fire, continued obstinately to resist the animated attack of all their opponents. Captain Collingwood, in the Excellent, in obedience to the admiral's orders, passed between the two rearmost ships of the enemy's line, giving to the one most to windward, a 74, so effectual a broadside, in addition to what had been done before, that her captain was induced to submit. The Excellent, afterwards, bore down on the ship to leeward, a three-decker; but observing the Orion engaged with her, and the Victory approaching her, he threw into her only a few discharges of musketry, and passed on to the support of the Captain, at that time warmly engaged with a three-decker, carrying a flag. His interference here was opportune, as the continual and long fire of the Captain had almost expended the ammunition she had at hand, and the loss of her fore-top-mast, and other injuries she had received in her rigging, had rendered her nearly ungovernable. The Spanish three-decker had lost her mizen-mast, and before the Excellent

had arrived in her proper station to open on this ship, the three-decker dropped astern aboard of, and became entangled with, a Spanish two-decker, that was her second. Thus doubled on each other, the Excellent gave the two ships her fire; and then moved forwards to assist the headmost ships in their attack on the Spanish admiral and the other ships of the enemy's centre. Meanwhile, Sir John Jervis, disappointed in his plan of raking the enemy's rear ships, and having directed, as before observed, the Excellent to bear up, ordered the Victory to be placed on the lee quarter of the rearmost ship of the enemy, a three-decker; and having by signal ordered the Irresistible and Diadem to suspend their firing, threw into the three-decker so powerful a discharge, that her commander, seeing the Barfleur, carrying Vice-Admiral the Hon. W. Waldegrave's flag, ready to second the Victory, thought proper to strike to the British commander-in-chief. Two of the enemy's ships had now surrendered, and the Lively frigate and Diadem had orders to secure the prizes. The next that fell were the two with which Commodore Nelson was engaged;" and of which we shall speak more fully hereafter.

" Four of the enemy's ships were now in possession of the British squadron: two of three decks, the Salvador del Mundo and the San Josef, of 112 guns each; one of 84, the San Nicolas, and the San Ysidro of 74 guns; and the van of the British line still continued to press hard the Santissima Trinidada, and others, in the rear of the enemy's flying fleet. The close of the day, before the four prizes were secured, undoubtedly saved the Spanish admiral's flag from falling into the hands of the victors. The Santissima Trinidada, on board which he carried it, had been so much the object of attention, that the ship was a perfect wreck when the action ceased: many indeed aver, that she actually struck both her flag and ensign, hoisting a white flag as a signal of submission; but as she continued her course, and afterwards hoisted a Spanish jack, others doubt this circumstance. It is, however, an indisputable truth, that her fire had been silent for some time before this event is reported to have occurred." Captain Brenton goes farther, and says, that " the Santissima Trinidada was engaged by many ships of the fleet in succession, and finally struck to the Orion, Captain Sir James Saumarez: that officer being unable to take possession of her, she ultimately escaped; but as she was known to be dismasted, a squadron of frigates, under the command of Captain Veltus Cornwall Berkeley, in the Emerald, was sent in pursuit, and in the course of three days fell in with her. She had

rigged her jury-masts, and was under snug sail, making good way. Captain Berkeley did not think it right to attack her, and recalled Cockburn in the Minerve, and Foote of the Niger, just as the former of these officers was about to bring her to close action. Captain Berkeley was much censured for his apparent want of resolution, but Cockburn gave the commander-in-chief so fair and impartial an account of the whole transaction, as to convince him that Captain Berkeley had acted with no more than common prudence."

We should here have closed our account of this important victory, by stating the honours and rewards bestowed upon Sir John Jervis, did we not consider it necessary to offer a few observations, by comparing the battle of the 14th February with that of the 1st June, and also on the remarks which the author of the *Naval History** has made upon both. Respecting the 1st of June, he says, " Most of the ships composing the French fleet were of the finest classes, possessing in a very superior degree the qualities of sailing and carrying their lower-deck ports; their weight of metal was superior to ours, as 14 to 12, being nearly the difference between a French and an English pound. The ships of the British fleet were all smaller than those of a comparative size in the French service, and consequently of a more diminished scantling, an object of *immense* consequence when closely engaged." " The British fleet was remarkably well manned, but the officers were *greatly deficient* from want of practice, the natural consequence of ten years' retirement: some of them had little idea of keeping a ship in her station, whether in line of battle or order of sailing, during the night and in blowing weather." And after describing the action, he says, " We have shewn that there were, after the action, fifteen sail of the line ready to renew it; and we are sorry to think, that the securing of the prizes should have delayed or impeded the pursuit of the flying enemy. The consideration of taking a few old ships into port as trophies seems to have been an object of greater importance at that period of the war, than the final and complete destruction of the enemy." Again, " Had Lord Howe burnt his captured vessels, and followed up his advantage, he might have completed the greatest naval campaign recorded in history." But respecting the battle of the 14th February, he says, " From this day, the old fashion of counting the ships of an enemy's fleet, and calculating the disparity of force, was entirely laid aside, and a new era may be said to have com-

* Brenton.

menced in the art of war at sea. Sir John observes in his public letter, that 'he knew the skill and valour he had to depend upon, and also that the honour of his Majesty's arms, and the circumstances of the war in those seas, required a considerable degree of energy.' No time was therefore lost in deliberation—his enemy was in sight, and was to be beaten. To the gallant chief immortal honour is due for not despairing of his country; the expectations formed of him were as fully realized, as those he had himself formed of his companions in arms."

Where Captain Brenton has found that there were after the action of the 1st of June fifteen sail of the line ready to renew it, we have not been able to discern; but supposing it were so, the same objection may be made to the conduct of Sir John Jervis: he did not "follow up his advantage," though he might successfully have done so. Lieutenant Marshall, in his very respectable work, says, "The judicious close of this glorious action evinces the judgment of Sir John Jervis to have been equal to his valour; for had the signal to bring-to been delayed even five minutes longer, the prizes must not only have remained very insecure, but possibly, with Commodore Nelson's ship, might have fallen into the hands of the enemy." This assertion, however, appears to rest on an unauthenticated article in the *Naval Chronicle*, and seems to us to be disproved by Captain Brenton's account of the frigates being detached in pursuit of the enemy. If the frigates could with safety be ordered on that service, the line-of-battle-ships might have been employed with a great deal more propriety. If Sir John Jervis had pursued the enemy with those ships of the line which were able to renew the action, which, we think, was the case with the whole of them except two, he would have rendered his victory still more complete; the Santissima Trinidada must have fallen, and no doubt several others. He did not do so, because he was taking care of the captured ships. But why did he not *burn them?* or rather, why did not Captain Brenton say he ought to have done so? Plutarch justly says, "It is very difficult to attain truth in history, since, if the writers live any length of time after the events which they relate, they can be but imperfectly informed of them; and if they describe the persons and transactions of their own times, they are tempted by envy and hatred, or interest and friendship, to disguise or pervert the truth." However, we think there was no occasion for Sir John Jervis, nor for any officer under similar circumstances, to burn his prizes. *If he had ordered the powder in them to be wetted*, and left them,

with the disabled ships, in care of the frigates, he might with the remainder have pursued the enemy; but instead of doing this, he kept all the line-of-battle-ships to take care of the prizes, and sent the frigates in pursuit of the enemy; and, as might have been expected, when they came up with them they could effect nothing, and consequently were obliged to return. So that we see, the "consideration of taking a few old ships into port as trophies seems to have been an object of" as great importance to Sir John Jervis as it was to Lord Howe; and though from the 14th February, the "old fashion of counting the ships of an enemy's fleet" was laid aside, we did not get rid of the "old fashion" of taking care of the prizes. It may be said, that the relative strength of the two squadrons was much greater in one case than the other; that Lord Howe had twenty-five sail of the line to oppose to twenty-six, whilst Sir John Jervis had only fifteen to contend with twenty-seven. This we admit; but we think that the difference was more than overbalanced by the quality of the officers and men. We have stated above the advantages which the French ships possessed over the English on the 1st of June; and whilst Lord Howe's fleet was commanded by "officers generally deficient from want of experience*," Sir John had with him the "*élite* of the British navy." Whilst Lord Howe fought with men enthusiastic in the cause they defended, and were rendered desperate by "the fear of the guillotine," Sir John contended with an enemy whom "we at once wished for on account of her wealth, and despised for her want of skill†." Mr. Southey‡ goes farther, and says, "The general incapacity of the naval officers was so well known, that in a pasquinade which about this time appeared at Madrid, wherein the different orders of the state were advertised for sale, the greater part of the sea-officers, with all their equipments, were offered as a gift; and it was added, that any person who would please to take them, should receive a handsome gratuity." And as a proof that this was the case, the commander-in-chief, the second in command, and four captains were afterwards deprived of their commissions, and declared incapable of again serving in any rank; and several others were deprived of their commands for different periods.

The public letter of Sir John Jervis‖ has also been extolled for its

* Brenton. † Ibid. ‡ *Life of Lord* Nelson.

‖ It is strange, but in this letter Captain Brenton has made a mistake: he has put it "*last* night," instead of "*that* night," by which it would appear that the action did not take place till the 16th, the date of the letter.

brevity, and the distinct and concise narrative of facts which it contains. "An enemy to pompous verbosity, he sought to tell his story in a few words, and to leave his deeds to speak for themselves. This example of modesty in public writing is so far from being reprehensible, that it is in the highest degree praiseworthy, and ought to be encouraged*." Whatever merit may be attached to that performance (and we think it very little, for every commander ought to point out the merits of an officer whenever they are displayed), we think it right it should be given to him to whom it is due; and we are enabled to state, that after the victory of the 14th February, Sir John wrote a dispatch to the Lords of the Admiralty, detailing the particulars of the battle: that it contained all the objections that were made to Lord Howe's letter: that he shewed it to Captain Calder (from whom we had our information), who decidedly objected to it; pointed out to him the unpleasant consequences that it might occasion; hoped that nothing would occur to damp the satisfaction every one felt, and begged that he would reconsider of it. This Sir John consented to, and the result was the letter which has given such gratification.

It has been said, that important services should be received with gratitude, in whatever way, without dishonour, they are performed: that too strict a scrutiny in such cases seems invidious, as all human action is liable to error; but that when the good predominates, it should be spread like gold, to cover imperfections which would otherwise be too glaring: a principle which we have taken for our guide, and which, we believe, with the exception of the present instance, we have fully acted upon; and had Captain Brenton followed the same course, or had he criticised all actions with the same degree of freedom as he has done that of Lord Howe's, we should not have departed from it now. We know that things will appear in a very different light upon a cool retrospect, and a full knowledge of all the circumstances on both sides, to what they would to the same persons acting under all the difficulties and uncertainty naturally attending a long-fought action; and that allowances should be made accordingly. But when an author, who is in possession of "those indispensable requisites which can only be acquired by professional habits, local knowledge, and constant attention," can say, we must see no more such actions as the 1st June, or the nation is lost; and can at the same time not only pass over the errors, but extol and hold up for imitation

* Brenton.

that of the 14th of February, we feel compelled to go farther into detail, to examine into the circumstances of both, and make a fair comparison between the two. We cannot allow one officer to be censured for an act which is to be passed over in another. If Sir John Jervis deserved praise for his victory on the 14th February (and which we do not deny), so did Lord Howe for his victory on the 1st of June; and if Lord Howe deserved censure, so did Sir John Jervis.

The news of Sir John's victory was received in England with a degree of satisfaction equal to its importance; and the exultation manifested on the occasion was even exceeded by the bounty of the government and the reward of the sovereign. A general illumination took place. He received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and a pension of 3000*l.* a year; and his Majesty created him Baron Jervis and Earl St. Vincent, a rank which no other naval officer attained during the whole war.

The fleet having been repaired, his lordship proceeded off Cadiz, which he held in the most rigorous blockade, and which was bombarded under the direction of Commodore Nelson. The spirit of insubordination and mutiny which prevailed in the British navy at this period extended itself to the fleet under his command; but being speedily detected, the ringleaders were arrested, brought to a court-martial, and three of them were sentenced to suffer death, which was shortly after carried into execution. Though this act of severity, rendered necessary by the circumstances of the case, did not entirely quell the spirit of disaffection which existed, as it occasionally shewed itself in different ships, yet it never assumed any very serious aspect, and was fortunately put down as soon as discovered. But his lordship "saw, that while the ships lay inactively at anchor before the port, the sailors, for want of some object to employ their attention, would brood over the late act of severity, and if compelled to perform their duty, would do it without heart or cheerfulness. He therefore caused the boats from all the ships of the fleet, well manned and armed, to be divided into three parts, each taking its turn, under the command of a lieutenant of the flag-ship, to row guard during the night under the very walls of the garrison; while the bomb-vessel, mortar-boats, and launches, with heavy carronades, kept up a constant fire on the place; and the unhappy Spaniards were made to feel the effects and deplore the consequences of a mutiny in the British fleet."

No other event of consequence occurred during the time his lordship held the command of this fleet, except detaching Admiral Nelson in quest of the French fleet which escaped from Toulon, and which led to the glorious victory of the Nile; and as his health had become considerably impaired, he returned to England, and arrived at Portsmouth on the 18th August, 1799. He was shortly after waited upon by the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses, with an address of congratulation on his safe return, and was at the same time presented with the freedom of the borough. In the November following, he was addressed by the general committee of merchants trading to the southern parts of Europe, to express the interest they took in the re-establishment of his health, and the advantages they derived, in common with the country in general, from the gallantry displayed by his lordship on various occasions.

His health being re-established, he was appointed in May 1800 to command the Channel fleet; a situation, however, he held only till the commencement of the following year, when he was recalled, to fill a higher and more important office. A change of administration taking place, by which Mr. Addington became First Lord of the Treasury in the room of Mr. Pitt, his lordship was appointed to succeed Lord Spencer as First Lord of the Admiralty, when he immediately commenced an examination into all the departments and establishments of the navy—to correct the frauds and abuses of office, which he knew from experience had a tendency to retard and check the best-concerted plans and operations—to explore those mines of corruption, arising from the frauds of prize-agents, and the extinction of which he was convinced was necessary for the wellbeing of the profession, the nation, and the monarchy. Commissioners were appointed with full powers to investigate the abuses complained of, who, in the end, detected and brought to light a train of peculation which has few parallels in history. It would trench too far on our space to enter fully into the proceedings which followed this exposure, and we must therefore refer to the *Parliamentary History* of that period for particulars. The result which emanated from these exertions of his lordship were of the most beneficial description. A number of old ships, which crowded without strengthening the navy, were dismissed the service; he gave directions to build all the ships of war in the king's yards, to the exclusion of the private builder; a number of useless and inefficient hands were discharged, and a stop put to a profligate and wasteful expenditure of the public money. " By him it was that the

inquiry was set on foot which led to the detection of so many and such enormous frauds upon the country. He laid his shoulders to the wheel, and in spite of art, influence, and evasion, undaunted by the numbers as well as the magnitude of those impediments he had to encounter, he pushed that inquiry to the utmost, and set an example which his country universally applauded." The attention of his lordship was also directed to the situations of the officers and seamen of the fleet: from the former he exacted stricter attention to their duties, and confined them much closer to their ships than had hitherto been the case; and while he established order and discipline among the seamen, and diminished the severity of punishment then in use, he increased their comforts and conveniences, which was also attended with the most beneficial effects. But his lordship could not escape that obloquy and slander which universally attend all those who fearlessly and manfully perform their duty to the country; who pursue a steady undeviating course, without looking backward or forward, to the right hand or to the left, but who are determined to root out peculation and corruption wherever discovered. Though no direct censure could be passed upon his lordship for thus pursuing his object, those who suffered from his integrity and patriotic conduct were loud in their complaints; they assailed his motives, and made up for a want of numbers by the baseness and falsity of their assertions.

Although the political principles of his lordship were of that description as to give full scope to fair discussion and a strict examination of the conduct of public men, an article appeared in one of the daily prints, of such a nature that he did not consider it just to himself, or the other members of the Board to which he belonged, to pass it over without notice. In the publication alluded to, it was stated, that "*It is a fact, which, if not well known, would hardly be believed, that it was two months after the commencement of the war (in* 1803*) before any orders were dispatched from the Admiralty to the naval commander in the Indian seas.*" This paragraph was handed over to the attorney-general, in order that he might prosecute the offenders by a criminal information; but although he coincided in the libellous nature of the paragraph, he had considerable doubts as to the expediency of the prosecution, and which he made known to their lordships. But the Board continued to feel that a libel which imputed to them a criminal neglect of duty, amounting to treason against the country, was of sufficient magnitude to be selected for prosecution. It was not enough, they said, that they

knew the imputation to be wholly false; that they had not omitted to send the most timely and even frequent dispatches to the admiral in the East Indies, not only of the actual commencement, but of the prospect of an approaching war with France: they therefore did not hesitate to direct that a criminal prosecution should be commenced. Various delays were nevertheless interposed by the attorney-general; and at last, to the astonishment of the Board of Admiralty, he refused to proceed without the direction of the cabinet. Lord St. Vincent communicated this extraordinary conduct to the cabinet, when the attorney-general was ordered to proceed, and a bill was filed; but before the trial could take place, a change in the ministry occurred, when the proceedings were again stopped, and the attorney-general said in the House of Commons, that he should not proceed without directions from the new ministers. Lord St. Vincent naturally felt a considerable degree of surprise and indignation at such conduct: he was determined, however, to bring the case before a jury of his countrymen, and took the necessary measures for that purpose. But the new ministers, being convinced of the necessity of punishing so false and malignant an assertion, directed the prosecution to proceed; and when the trial came into court, the defendants were found guilty without the slightest hesitation. Lord Ellenborough, who presided, described it as a most gross and injurious libel, imputing to Lord St. Vincent and the Board of Admiralty the greatest crime that could be committed by men in a public situation—a traitorous neglect of duty in omitting to send the information they were bound to communicate to our naval commander in India, of an event, the ignorance of which in him would have hazarded the safety of that most important of our possessions—a crime for which, if it had been committed, there was no punishment within the power of the law, or within the reach of legislative vengeance, which was or could be adequate.

This was not the only attempt made to disparage the services and injure the character of Lord St. Vincent; Mr. Pitt having, on the 15th March, 1804, brought forward several resolutions in the House of Commons, tending to criminate the Board of Admiralty, but which, after an animated debate, were all negatived. This conduct of Mr. Pitt was the more extraordinary, as he had, on retiring from office, passed the highest eulogium on Lord St. Vincent's character and professional talents, and recommended him, as being the best qualified, to fill the high and important situation of First Lord of the Admiralty. Mr. Pitt, however,

did not charge his lordship with criminality in the discharge of his office, or accuse him of any unfair bias in the exercise of his power; but his complaints arose from a greater number of gun-boats not having been employed, and from his lordship having declined to build ships in the merchants' yards. From these charges, however, his lordship was fully defended by some of the most brilliant speeches ever delivered in Parliament. It would encroach too much on our space were we to enter into any lengthened detail of these specimens of English oratory, or to extract those passages which dwell particularly on the conduct of his lordship: there are, however, a few sentences which it would be unjust on our part to omit, and we shall therefore insert them. The first is from the speech of Mr. Sheridan, who opposed the resolutions, and who said, "The real crime of the First Lord of the Admiralty is, that his vigilance and perseverance have detected and pursued those crying abuses by which the strength and glory of our navy might ultimately be impaired and tarnished; and that he has removed from the firmest seat of our security that mass of filth and corruption, behind which a set of unprincipled and interested depredators were known to burrow and to fatten. Such conduct, instead of being insidiously and maliciously inquired into, justly claimed not only the protection, but the approbation and applause both of the House and the country at large. Even the right honourable gentleman, however, cannot injure the noble earl; his fame stands too high, his character is too firmly established, to be hurt by the assertions of any member; and I have no doubt that the noble earl will always be found entitled to the applause and protection of his country. To produce integrity and arrangement in all the departments of the navy is, and has been, the great endeavour of the high character upon whom it appears to be the object of the motion before the House to fix an imputation: I shall vote against it with as much satisfaction as ever I gave a vote since I had the honour of a seat in this House; fully convinced, that such a motion is only calculated to gratify the corrupt, to frown upon reform, and to assail the reputation of a gallant officer." And Mr. Fox, though he voted for the resolutions, said, "Towards Lord St. Vincent I feel much personal friendship, and this renders me anxious that his reputation should stand high; but public motives give me a still greater interest in his fame and honour. Of his glorious achievement on the 14th February no man can think higher than I do; but his conflict with the abuses and corruptions of his department appears to me, though less brilliant,

not less arduous and meritorious. On the 14th February he engaged and vanquished the enemy; but he has waged a war not less difficult with jobs and contracts and frauds. He has broken their embattled line, not less arduous to penetrate than that of the enemy. My admiration of him is increased, to find him possess, in so high a degree, that which is more rare than gallantry in the field—civil courage and decision, as well as personal courage; and I feel that his virtues and public deserts in this contest with corruption have naturally led to that obloquy by which he has been pursued."

Mr. Pitt having again been appointed to direct the energies of the nation, it was expected that he would endeavour to throw some odium on the character of Lord St. Vincent; and with a view of ascertaining what were the intentions of the new ministry on that point, the Duke of Clarence, in the House of Lords, called upon Lord Sidmouth (formerly Mr. Addington, and who had accepted office under Mr. Pitt), to state the sense in which he had held, and still continued to hold, the conduct of his lordship while at the head of the Admiralty-Board. His royal highness said he had known the noble earl for twenty-six years, and he felt himself called on to declare, both as a peer of that House and as a naval officer, that he had never seen cause to differ from the noble earl but once, and that was with respect to his ideas of the late peace. Had the conduct of the noble earl, therefore, in his ministerial situation become the subject of discussion, it should unquestionably have met with his decided support. He expected, therefore, from the noble viscount a consistent declaration as to the impression which still remained on his mind of the conduct of that noble and respectable naval hero." Lord Sidmouth, in reply, said, that " he felt no hesitation in declaring, as he had hitherto done, that he highly approved of, and held in the most perfect respect, the conduct of the noble earl, both in his situation as a naval commander, and as the head of the marine of this country. That he should be guilty of a gross inconsistency, and of a violation of his own firmly fixed sentiments on the subject, did he not state so; and did he not declare, that the noble earl was, in his opinion, entitled, not to the thanks only, but to the universal gratitude of the nation." A declaration more honourable to both parties could scarcely be conceived.

On the death of Mr. Pitt, and being succeeded by Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox, it was expected that Lord St. Vincent would have again been placed at the head of the Board of Admiralty; but in this he was disap-

pointed, and he was nominated commander-in-chief of the Channel fleet, with permission to carry the union-flag at the mast-head. The affairs of the Continent at this time wore a gloomy aspect, though the situation of England bore no resemblance to it. If the government of France had, by the valour and discipline of their soldiers, obtained the ascendency in the different states of Europe, the skill and courage of the British navy had left her without a rival on the ocean. The only friendly port which her fleet could enter between the Adriatic and the Baltic was that of Lisbon, and of this the Emperor of France now began to take measures to deprive them. No attempt could be made with less appearance of justice; but that was a quality Napoleon little considered when interest stood in the way, and measures were taken to oblige the court of Lisbon, not only to renounce all friendship, but to violate its neutrality with Great Britain. The attention of the British government consequently became anxiously directed towards the critical situation of their old and faithful ally, and they immediately gave directions for Lord St. Vincent to proceed to the Tagus with six sail of the line. These were soon followed by an armed force under the command of General Simcoe and the Earl of Rosslyn, in conjunction with whom Lord St. Vincent was directed to open such a communication with the Portuguese government as should at once lead to a full understanding of the extent of the threatened danger, the means of resisting it, and the best mode of co-operating for that purpose. They were also empowered to offer to the Portuguese government all the assistance in ships and men which the British government had at their disposal, and to apply them in any way that the King of Portugal should direct. And if it were found impracticable to defend the country against the threatened attack, his lordship was directed to offer the use of the fleet under his command, for the purpose of removing the royal family, and securing them a safe retreat to the Brazils. But in the event of the court of Lisbon refusing the proffered aid, and declining either to defend its territories in Europe or to escape to America, the British admiral and general were instructed to declare, that should a French army invade Portugal, and the government both refuse to oppose them and escape from them, it became their duty to prevent the fleet of Portugal from falling into the possession of the enemy*. From this alternative, however, they were happily relieved by the appearances of fresh hostilities in the north of Europe, and which required the whole

* *Annual Register.*

attention of the French emperor: his designs upon Portugal were therefore abandoned, and Lord St. Vincent resumed his situation off Brest. His lordship continued to hold this command till the month of April 1807, when he was permitted, from age and fatigue, to strike his flag. He, however, did not retire from public affairs, but occasionally attended his duty in Parliament, where his addresses were marked by that fervency, zeal, and independence, which had distinguished his conduct in younger days. On the 7th May, 1814, he received the honourable appointment of general of marines, and in 1815 was elected a fellow of the Royal Society.

During the summer of 1818, his lordship visited that stupendous national work, the Breakwater in Plymouth Sound, of which it has been said* that he was the projector; that his curiosity and patriotism were fully gratified by its forward state, and the conviction that it answered every purpose for which it was intended†. That he was the means of its being erected in Plymouth Sound is certain, but the honour of the design, we think, must be shared by others. So far back as 1783, a similar proposition was made by the Duke of Richmond, but the expense was then considered too great; and during the period that Lord Spencer presided at the Admiralty, Mr. Whidbey the engineer sent in a proposition for erecting a similar work at Torbay‡, which, however, was not acted upon: but Lord St. Vincent, being convinced of its importance, subsequently pressed for its erection in Plymouth Sound; which was at length complied with, and he had the gratification to live to see it answer the most sanguine expectations.

On the coronation of his Majesty George IV. July 19, 1821, a particular mark of honour was paid to his lordship, by his being raised to the rank of admiral of the fleet, in conjunction with H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence. And on his Majesty's departure for Scotland in 1822, it being intimated to his lordship, that his presence at the embarkation would be considered a mark of attention, he eagerly embraced the opportunity, and had the honour to receive his sovereign on board the vessel appointed to convey him, and was highly gratified with the reception he there met with.

His lordship now approached the end of his career, which was extend-

* *Naval Chronicle.* Lieutenant Marshall.

† The first stone was laid, or rather dropped, by Admiral Sir Robert Calder, August 12, 1812, the birthday of his Majesty George IV.

‡ *Naval Chronicle.*

ed to an unusual length. He died in March 1823, in the ninetieth year of his age; and we think it must be confessed, that if Admiral Byron was the most unfortunate of officers, Lord St. Vincent was the most fortunate.

Having in the above Memoir so fully stated the services of his lordship, it only remains for us to point out the distinguishing features of his character: a task we would at all times much rather avoid, lest we should by some be accused of endeavouring to weaken the merits of those who deserve praise, or by the more censorious, of bestowing praise where we should confer censure; but as we have not hitherto shrunk from the task where we have thought it necessary, we shall not refrain from it now, especially as we have treated the services of his lordship with some degree of freedom; and it may from that circumstance be considered doubly requisite, that we should state our opinion of his general conduct and abilities. In fulfilling this part of our duty, we shall only allude to two periods of his life—whilst holding the command in the Mediterranean, and whilst at the head of the Admiralty-Board. It is the conduct he pursued during the time he held those situations, upon which his claim to the title of a great naval hero and that of a statesman must be grounded.

One of the first duties of a commander is to take care of his men; and in this we find he was as careful of their health and comforts, as of their discipline and subordination; that births were fitted up in each ship for those who were ill; that every attention was paid to them which their situations would allow; and that it was repaid by the cheerfulness with which they performed their duty, and the confidence they reposed in him. Although in nautical science and his general abilities as an admiral, we think him inferior to Lord Howe, the lustre which was shed around him by his victory on the 14th February, can only be diminished by the injudicious comparison of friends, and those improper suggestions which are made with a view of elevating a part at the expense of the rest. In one point of view, his lordship stood higher than any of his cotemporaries. Distinguished as a naval commander, he was much more so as a marine minister; he certainly united in himself a rare degree of excellence in both, to excel in either of which is considered deserving the highest praise. As an admiral, he conferred honour and glory on the country; but as First Lord of the Admiralty, his acts were attended with results the most important and beneficial to the profession and the nation. His efforts in each situation were of sufficient importance to transmit his

name with honour to posterity. Whilst commanding a fleet, he displayed talents which placed him in the first rank of naval officers; but whilst at the head of the Admiralty, he was distinguished by principles and conduct which proved the greatness of his mind—that he detested corruption, that he was above meanness and all those little arts which are characteristic of little minds. He considered the confidence reposed in him as the glorious charge of discriminating degrees of merit, and to bestow rewards impartially, rather than as an opportunity to remunerate his friends at the expense of his country. He was scrupulous in receiving recommendations for promotion, but prompt in the encouragement of worth and ability: he despised all claims to rank and seniority which were unsupported by service and ability. His penetrating judgment and quickness of sagacity enabled him to distinguish the true characters of men, and employ them on those services best suited to their talents. The designs which he planned were prudent and beneficial, and he established unanimity between both services, the want of which had often marred the most heroic courage, and defeated the best-laid schemes. It is, therefore, not too much to say, that he ranked amongst the greatest naval characters England has produced: that there were united in him activity, caution, and great strength of judgment: that though he was strict in his discipline, he preserved the respect and affection of the men: that he possessed a strong and acute mind, forming his opinions with coolness, but was determined and resolute in what he undertook. In a word, that he was endowed by nature with all the capacity that genius could give, joined to all the knowledge that experience could teach.

His lordship was married June 5, 1783, to his cousin Martha, daughter of Chief Baron Parker; but had no issue. Some time previous to his death, his lordship obtained a patent for a viscounty, with a collateral limitation to him and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten; and in default thereof, to the children of his sister, by her marriage with William Henry Ricketts, Esq.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL VISCOUNT DUNCAN.

IF the assertion be true, that "men are born heroes, as they are born poets, orators," &c. there are some circumstances displayed in early youth which enable the discerning to predict their future eminence; and in some degree even the youth himself may become acquainted with his own powers, which, in an ardent disposition, will materially assist him in attaining the object of his ambition. It is for a want of this knowledge, it is a lack of understanding the nature and disposition of the candidates for naval renown, that so many enter the service, and leave it through disgust or disappointment. We have heard that this has been the case with many; that several have continued in the profession who ought never to have seen it: but we never heard of one who left it that should have remained in it. Amongst the principal criterions by which the fitness of a youth for a naval life may be judged, we may reckon the following: If in reading the memoirs of those distinguished individuals whose lives have been devoted to the service of their king and country; whose talents and perseverance have done honour to themselves and their country; who, braving every danger, every difficulty, and every obstacle, have risen from humble situations to rank, power, and influence, it excites a sort of enthusiasm in his mind; if he feels an emulation to rival them in their renown, and a desire to follow the example which they have set, it may be safely affirmed, that there is great probability of his succeeding in the object of his pursuit. But if this should not be the case; if he should fail in obtaining the prize he seeks, and be obliged to remain satisfied with a mere claim to its possession (for, and we say it with reluctance, patronage often confers rewards where they are not deserved, while actual merit remains neglected), still the influence on his conduct is the same: it prompts him to the most noble undertakings; it preserves him in a steady course of honour and perseverance, and secures to him the applause of the brave and the good.

We have been led into these remarks by a consideration of the prin-

cipal circumstances of the life of Lord Duncan, who was born at Dundee, in Scotland, July 1731, and was the younger son of Alexander Duncan* of Lundie (an estate which had been in the possession of the family for near two hundred years); and from the earliest infancy he is said to have displayed that mildness and serenity of manners which marked his life from his first entrance into the service to the close of his glorious career. At the same time he evinced a spirit and determination, which induced his parents to dedicate him to the naval service of his country; and at the early age of twelve years he was placed under the care of his near relation, Captain Robert Haldane, with whom he made several short voyages; and even at that early age there was an intrepidity about him from which the greatest hopes were formed. It was not, however, till after he attained his fourteenth year that he was regularly rated as a midshipman. At that period a circumstance is said to have occurred which materially tended to confirm him in the profession which had been chosen for him. He was fond of reading books of a martial nature; and having perused the lives of some British naval officers, he determined to pursue that life with redoubled energy. He was accordingly placed on the ship's books, and continued with Captain Haldane till the termination of the war; during which time he displayed great talents, and proved that his zeal was in proportion to his abilities. The next ship he served on board of was the Centurion of 50 guns, commanded by Commodore Keppel, with whom he sailed to the Mediterranean. The commodore being early impressed with the amiable qualities of Mr. Duncan, and perceiving his rising genius, not only promised him his future support, but formed an affection and friendship for him, which continued to the latest period of their existence. Mr. Duncan returned to England with the commodore at the expiration of his command, and was in hopes of meeting with that promotion which his assiduity and the favourable opinion of his commander gave him a right to expect: but though Fortune at that moment became capricious, and withheld her favours for

* Mr. Duncan married the youngest daughter of George Haldane, Esq. of Glencugles, a very old Scotch family; and this lady was considered one of the most beautiful women of the day. During the rebellion in 1745, Mr. Duncan greatly distinguished himself in favour of the house of Hanover. He died in 1771, and was succeeded in his estates by his eldest son, a colonel in the army, who served with great credit and honour during the Seven Years' war; but dying without issue, he was succeeded in the family possessions by his brother, the subject of this Memoir, a few years before he was elevated to the peerage. He also succeeded to the estate of Glencugles in right of his mother.

a while, Mr. Duncan's abilities were such as to insure attention, should a time of danger arrive; and accordingly on the first appearance of hostilities he was called into active service, and appointed a lieutenant of the Norwich in January 1755, one of the ships ordered to America under Commodore Keppel. Shortly after his arrival on that station, he was removed into the commodore's ship; and on their return to England, removed with him into the Swiftsure, and subsequently into the Torbay. He accompanied him on the several cruises* which he made, proceeded with him on the expedition to Rochefort, and lastly to Goree, where he was slightly wounded. On the 21st September, 1759, he was raised to the rank of commander; but in that rank he did not long continue, being made post-captain in February 1761, and, through the interest of his friend Keppel, was appointed to command his flag-ship in the projected expedition to Belleisle. After the reduction of the island, an armament was fitted out against the Havannah; and as Admiral Keppel was appointed to command a division of the fleet, Captain Duncan was also employed, and in the landing of the troops was invested with the command of the boats. During the whole of the operations, he was alike distinguished for prudence and ability, and that degree of spirit and determination which renders the character of a commander perfect. Hostilities having ceased, Captain Duncan returned to England, and during the whole continuance of the peace he remained totally unemployed; and it was not till 1778, when it became necessary for the country to make the greatest exertions in support of her honour and independence, that Captain Duncan was again intrusted with command. He was then appointed to the Suffolk of 74 guns, but shortly after removed into the Monarch of the same force. He was not, however, in the action with D'Orvilliers; but though he was so intimately connected with Admiral Keppel, he was chosen a member of the court-martial for the trial of his friend, and likewise of Sir Hugh Palliser, without subjecting himself to the slightest reproach on either occasion; and, as has been observed, "at a time when the rage of parties ran so violent as they then did, a man, standing like himself, the avowed friend of one party, must have been peculiarly guarded in his conduct to escape without some species of censure from the other, which, though it might be contemptuously passed over, as the impotent effluvia of an overheated imagination, yet certainly to have completely avoided it stands as no slender proof of

* See *Memoir of Admiral* KEPPEL, page 38.

the most unbiassed integrity and the soundest judgment." Captain Duncan afterwards served under the orders of Sir Charles Hardy and Admiral Darby, till the end of the year 1779, when he proceeded with Sir George Rodney to the relief of Gibraltar; and in the action with Langara, we may safely assert, that no officer in the fleet exerted himself with more effect, displayed more zeal and energy, or was more distinguishedly engaged, than Captain Duncan: he was one of the first in action, was engaged with three of the enemy's ships at one time, and obliged the St. Augustin to surrender, though she afterwards escaped into Cadiz. In this gallant contest the Monarch lost her fore-top-mast, and had 29 men killed and wounded. The garrison of Gibraltar having been relieved, Captain Duncan returned to England with Admiral Digby, and did not again go to sea till 1782, when he commissioned the Blenheim of 90 guns. In this ship he was placed under the orders of Lord Howe, proceeded with him to the relief of Gibraltar, and was of course present in the encounter which took place off the Straits' mouth. On his return to England, he succeeded Sir John Jervis in the command of the Foudroyant; but on the termination of hostilities, which soon after took place, he was appointed to the Edgar, a guard-ship at Portsmouth, which he retained for the usual period of three years. On the 14th September, 1787, he was advanced to the rank of rear-admiral of the Blue; and on the 1st February, 1793, to be vice-admiral of the same flag. But notwithstanding war immediately after took place with revolutionary France, and although Admiral Duncan sought employment with the most ardent zeal, in hopes of acquiring that fame which had acted as a stimulus to his exertions from the first moment of his career, the long and meritorious services of the admiral — services which it was natural to expect would have commanded attention, and procured him employment at a time of public danger—were disregarded; a circumstance which, in a less ardent disposition, might have been the means of depriving the country of his future exertions. It is even said, that this active and deserving officer felt so severely the neglect he experienced, that he had it in contemplation to retire from the profession: but brighter days were reserved for him. In 1795, he was called into active service, and appointed commander-in-chief in the North Seas, his principal object being the Dutch fleet in the Texel; but the limits of his command extended from the South Foreland to Calais, and from thence to Shetland and the coast of Norway, or wherever the operations of the enemy

he was sent to encounter should render necessary. Having hoisted his flag on board the Venerable of 74 guns, he proceeded to carry into execution the very important trust confided to him; and was shortly after joined by a Russian squadron, consisting of several sail of the line, but which were so defective for all purposes of action, from their age, and the quality of the officers and seamen, that they were nearly useless.

For the first two years that Admiral Duncan held this command there was nothing material occurred: his diligence and activity were, however, eminently displayed in the disposition of his squadron, by the capture of the enemy's cruisers, and the destruction of their coasting trade. From this state of affairs we must turn to one more important, more irksome and dangerous, one which we would fain pass over without notice, could we do so with justice to the character of Lord Duncan—the mutiny in his fleet; but as that was a circumstance which so eminently displayed his amiable qualities, we must shortly allude to it. In the month of May 1797, the fleet was lying in Yarmouth roads, when evident symptoms of that spirit of dissatisfaction which had broken out in the fleet at Spithead shewed itself in that under the command of Admiral Duncan: the crew of the Venerable mounted the rigging, and gave three cheers as the signal of disobedience. The admiral, officers, and marines were instantly upon deck, and by their prompt exertions order was partly restored, when the admiral immediately addressed them as follows: "My lads, I am not, in the smallest degree, apprehensive of any violent measure you may have in contemplation; and though I assure you I would much rather acquire your love than incur your fear, I will with my own hand put to death the first man who shall display the slightest symptoms of rebellious conduct." And turning immediately to one of the ringleaders, he said, "Do you, sir, want to take the command of the ship out of my hands?" —"Yes, sir," replied the fellow with the greatest assurance. The admiral immediately raised his arm with the intent to plunge his sword into the mutineer's breast: the chaplain and the secretary, however, arrested his arm, and prevented him from executing this summary act of vengeance*. He did not attempt to repeat the blow, but immediately called all those who would stand by him and his officers to pass to the starboard side of the ship; when the whole crew went over, with the exception of six, who were the instigators of this instance of disobedience, but who were now seized, put in irons, and committed to the gun-room. They

* Schomberg.

were, however, having shewn great contrition for their offence, afterwards liberated and pardoned; an act for which the admiral was, by the more rigid disciplinarian, somewhat censured: their speedy and exemplary punishment ought, it was said, to have immediately taken place, as a warning to the rest of the fleet. It may, however, be doubted whether the admiral did not, by the forbearance which he manifested on this occasion, do more to prevent the recurrence of these symptoms of disaffection, and to eradicate it entirely, than those who pursued an opposite course, and endeavoured to quell it by force and terror. Mercy is one of the first attributes of man; and Admiral Duncan, who possessed a heart as benevolent as it was brave and undaunted, by this act of generosity and forgiveness endeared himself to the whole ship's company; no other symptom ever appeared on board the Venerable, and it was not without its effect on the other ships of the squadron. But to satisfy his mind as to its extent, and to enable him to take the most prompt and efficacious means for its suppression, he assembled the different captains of his fleet in his own cabin, and inquired of them, whether they had any suspicion of a mutinous disposition in their respective crews, as in that case he should feel it his duty to proceed on board their ships, in order to assist them in quelling it; but, with the exception of Captain William Hotham of the Adamant, they all declared they had no reason to apprehend any such disposition. Captain Hotham, however, admitted that he had observed some very unpleasant symptoms amongst his men. Admiral Duncan, therefore, went immediately on board the Adamant, hoisted his flag in that ship, and summoned the crew upon deck; when addressing them upon the object of his visit, he demanded to know if there was any individual who presumed to dispute his authority, or that of the officers. When one of them came forward, and with the utmost insolence said, "Yes, I do." The admiral immediately seized him by the collar, and being a powerful athletic man, thrust him over the side of the ship, where he held him suspended by one arm; and again addressing the crew, said, "My lads, look at this fellow—he who dares to deprive me of the command of the fleet!" An immediate and general cry of "Huzza for our old admiral!" was shouted by the Adamant's crew, who returned to their duty, and, like the crew of the Venerable, remained faithful ever after.

The admiral was now in hopes that the whole was entirely quelled: the signal was made to unmoor, to proceed off the Texel, which signal

was answered and obeyed; but after proceeding a short distance, the Nassau and Montagu returned to their anchorage, and were followed by all the others, except the Venerable and Adamant. Upon this unfortunate occasion, the admiral again ordered all hands upon deck, and thus addressed them from the quarter-deck:

"My lads, I once more call you together with a sorrowful heart, from what I have lately seen—the disaffection of the fleet: I call it disaffection, for the crews have no grievances. To be deserted by my fleet in the face of an enemy is a disgrace which, I believe, never before happened to a British admiral, nor could I have supposed it possible. My greatest comfort, under God, is, that I have been supported by my officers, seamen, and marines of this ship; for which, with a heart overflowing with gratitude, I request you to accept my sincere thanks. I flatter myself much good may result from your example, by bringing those deluded people to a sense of the duty which they owe, not only to their king and country, but to themselves. The British navy has ever been the support of that liberty which has been handed down to us by our ancestors, and which I trust we shall maintain to the latest posterity; but that can only be done by unanimity and obedience. This ship's company, and others which have distinguished themselves by their loyalty and good order, deserve to be, and doubtless will be, the favourites of a grateful country. They will also have, from their inward feelings, a comfort which must be lasting, and not like the fleeting and false confidence of those who have swerved from their duty. It has often been my pride, with you, to look into the Texel, and see a foe which dreaded coming out to meet us. My pride is now humbled indeed. My feelings are not easily to be expressed. Our cup has overflowed and made us wanton. The all-wise Providence has given us this check as a warning, and I hope we shall improve by it. On him then let us trust, where our only security can be found. I find there are many good men amongst us; I have had full confidence in all in this ship, and once more beg to express my approbation of your conduct. May God, who has thus far conducted you, continue to do so; and may the British navy, the glory and support of our country, be restored to its wonted splendour, and be not only the bulwark of Britain, but the terror of the world. But this can only be effected by a strict adherence to our duty and obedience; and let us pray that Almighty God may keep us in the right way of thinking. God bless you all!"

This address is said to have been delivered with such impressiveness,

and to have had such an effect upon the crew, that on retiring there was not a dry eye amongst them. With the two ships above named the admiral proceeded off the Texel to watch the enemy's movements, and by his signals and manœuvres lulled the enemy into the belief, that he was attended by several others in the offing. His situation was now become critical and embarrassing; the enemy's squadron was daily expected out, and he had no fleet to oppose them. In this extremity, the determined spirit of Admiral Duncan was particularly displayed: the two ships were moored with springs on their cables at the outer buoy of the Texel; and he not only resolved to keep up appearances, but to engage the enemy should he venture out. He knew the critical state of public affairs, that it required the most bold and decisive measures; and whatever the result might have been, he determined to abide its issue. He therefore gave directions to Captain Hotham to fight the Adamant till she sunk, as it was his intention to do so with the Venerable, and defy the utmost efforts of the enemy. After blockading the Texel for nearly five months, during which he paid the most diligent attention to the important trust reposed in him, he was obliged to return to Yarmouth to revictual; but during his absence, he left a small squadron of observation, under the orders of Captain Trollope, with directions to give him the earliest information should the enemy attempt to put to sea. This favourable opportunity was seized by the Dutch admiral, and he left the anchorage which he had so long occupied. This important intelligence was soon communicated to Admiral Duncan, who proceeded with the earliest dispatch to his old cruising-ground, and having placed his squadron in a situation to prevent the return of the enemy without falling in with them, at seven o'clock a. m. on the 11th October, Captain Trollope's squadron was observed with a signal flying for an enemy's fleet, which at half-past eight was discovered to leeward. The signal was then made to bear up and stand towards them, when they were found to be forming their line on the larboard tack, and to consist of fifteen sail of the line, with their frigates and brigs placed to leeward of their line, opposite to the intervals, which were of great annoyance to the British fleet when passing through. At eleven o'clock the signal was made for the van to shorten sail, to let the sternmost ships come up, as, owing to the inequality of sailing, the fleet was in no regular order. The enemy in the mean time were gradually approaching the shore, which was not more than seven miles distant. The moment was critical, it was pregnant with the most serious

consequences to Britain, and required the most vigorous and successful exertions to avert the threatened danger. Upon viewing the enemy, the British admiral immediately formed one of those resolutions which great minds are alone capable of, and not only of forming, but of carrying into execution; and the success which attended him was worthy the reputation he had acquired, and the honour and character of the British name. He saw the enemy, but he also saw that unless that enemy was soon brought to a close and general action, his escape would be more than probable. Without waiting therefore to form any regular order of battle, the signal was made to bear up and sail large, pass through the enemy's line, and engage to leeward, each ship her opponent. About twelve o'clock the signal was made for close action, which was kept flying for about an hour and a half, when it was shot away. About half-past twelve the battle commenced by Vice-Admiral Onslow, in the Monarch, who fully obeyed the signal of his chief, passed under the stern of the Dutch vice-admiral, and engaged him to leeward. In about five minutes afterwards, the Venerable, intending to engage the Dutch commander-in-chief, was prevented by the States General shooting close up to protect him. Thus baffled, Admiral Duncan ordered his helm to be put a-port, ran under the stern of his gallant opponent, engaged him close, and having beat him out of the line, fell into the situation he desired along side the Batavian commander. The battle now raged with dreadful fury, and became nearly general in both lines: it was, however, around the flag-ships that the most determined courage was evinced. Broadside after broadside followed in quick succession, each discharge carrying death and destruction with it. The contest between the two admirals was long and bloody, nor did it terminate till the whole of the enemy's masts were shot away, and the destruction of the men so great, that Admiral de Winter was the only one on the quarter-deck who was not killed or wounded. About the same time the Dutch vice-admiral struck to Vice-Admiral Onslow, as did several others to different ships of the squadron*. About three o'clock the firing had nearly ceased, and on the smoke clearing away, it was found that the two fleets had approached to within five miles of the shore, the wind blowing strong upon it, and only nine fathoms water. The skill and ability of Admiral Duncan were now

* Twelve of the enemy's ships struck their colours, but some taking advantage of the night, and being near their own shore, succeeded in getting into the Texel. Nine, however, were secured, together with two frigates.

as conspicuously displayed, as his courage and presence of mind had been in the preceding conflict. The first object was to get the heads of the disabled ships off shore; a task which was both difficult and dangerous, but in which he was also successful. It was not, however, till the 15th that he was enabled to reach the British shore, and even then with much difficulty, as the Venerable had received so much damage between wind and water, that it was not without considerable exertions that she was kept afloat. Thus terminated an action marked with every feature of victory in all its parts and bearings, and which for brilliancy and importance may be compared to the brightest enrolled on the page of British naval history. It not only produced an effect highly advantageous to the British nation, but conferred on her the dominion of the narrow seas and the sceptre of the ocean. The designs and hopes of the enemy were disconcerted and annihilated, and the safety of the British isles, which were threatened with subjugation and ruin, was thereby rendered certain. Never were British valour and enterprise more eminently conspicuous; never did a British fleet exhibit greater eagerness to engage, or evince more ardour in battle; never were the promptitude, decision, skill, and courage of an admiral more gloriously displayed than on this occasion; and the example which he set was, in general, most ably followed by the captains under him; while the crews of the different ships displayed a valour which could not fail to ensure a great and glorious victory.

In bestowing a due share of praise on the officers and men of the British fleet, we must not forget the valour and unabated vigour which the enemy evinced from the commencement to the close of the action. Admiral de Winter was an officer of acknowledged merit in his profession, and of remarkable intrepidity. His principles were republican, in unison with those of his government and the generality of his countrymen; a sincere adherence to which obliged him to take refuge in France, after the suppression of the civil commotion in Holland in the year 1787. He afterwards received an appointment in the French army, accompanied General Pichegru when he invaded Holland in 1795, distinguished himself repeatedly under that commander, and as a reward for his merit, constancy, and ability, was appointed to superintend the re-establishment of the Dutch marine. Having, with indefatigable zeal and perseverance, placed it on a complete war establishment, worthy of its ancient renown, he was directed by the Batavian government to take

the command of it, and proceed to join the French fleet at Brest. If his officers and crews were somewhat deficient in skill from the want of experience, it must be stated, that there were few opportunities for a display of those qualifications; that they were not wanting in the more essential ones of personal bravery and enthusiasm. Animated with a recollection of former victories, and that they were contending with their ancient rival for maritime greatness, they fought with a desperation equal to the proudest periods of their history, and yielded not till every effort had been used of which brave men are capable. The total number of their killed and wounded has not been stated; but the two ships which carried admirals' flags had each above 250 killed and wounded. That of their successful adversaries was in proportion: only nine of the British ships out of sixteen sustained any loss, but those had 755 men killed and wounded, 77 of whom were on board the Venerable.

The honours that were bestowed on Admiral Duncan received the approbation of men of all parties. He was created Baron Duncan of Lundie and Viscount Duncan of Camperdown; a pension of 3000*l.* a year was settled on him; he received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, the freedom of the city of London, and a sword of 200 guineas value. Gold medals were also struck to commemorate the victory, and presented to the admirals and captains of the fleet. As a further mark of approbation, his Majesty embarked on board one of the royal yachts on the 30th October, to visit the admiral at Sheerness, and personally thank him for his exertions; but the wind and weather proved so bad, that he could not accomplish his purpose, and he was obliged to return to town on the 1st November. His Majesty, however, seized this happy moment to display the finest feelings of human nature, by pardoning one hundred and eighty seamen who were confined for mutiny on board the Eagle prison-ship in the Medway.

On the 8th November, his lordship was introduced in the House of Lords, when the Lord Chancellor communicated to him the thanks of the House in the following terms:

" Lord Viscount Duncan, I am commanded by the lords to give your lordship the thanks of this House for your able and gallant conduct in the brilliant and decisive victory obtained over the Dutch fleet on the 11th day of October last; as well as for the zeal, courage, and perseverance which you have uniformly manifested during the arduous period in which you have commanded his Majesty's fleet in the North

Sea. At the same time that this vote passed unanimously, their lordships were pleased to order that all the peers should be summoned to attend the House on the occasion; A DISTINCTION UNPRECEDENTED, BUT CALLED FOR BY THE GENERAL ADMIRATION YOUR CONDUCT HAS INSPIRED, and strongly expressive of that peculiar satisfaction which the peers must feel upon your lordship's promotion to a distinguished seat in this House. Splendid in all its circumstances as the victory obtained by his Majesty's fleet under your command has been, important as it must prove in its consequences to the security of all his Majesty's dominions, and, under the Divine blessing, to the favourable issue of the arduous contest in which they are engaged; the magnitude and lustre of these considerations have not so occupied the observation of the lords as to make them unmindful of the constant vigilance with which your lordship had, in the whole course of your command for three seasons, watched and frustrated every design of the enemy; nor the manly fortitude with which you had sustained the temporary defection of the greater part of your force; nor, above all, that undaunted resolution with which, at so momentous a crisis, you proceeded to check and controul the presumptuous hopes of the enemy. These are merits in which Fortune can claim no share; they spring from that energy of mind, and that ardent love of country, which has directed your own conduct, and animated the officers and men under your command, to those exertions which are entitled to every testimony of public gratitude and applause."

To which his lordship made the following short and modest reply:

"My lords, not accustomed to speak in public, though my feelings are great, my words must be few. Deeply impressed as I am with the high honour this Right Honourable House has conferred upon me, I can only say, that I acknowledge it with the most profound respect, and feel much gratified by it.

"To you, my lord, my best thanks are due for the very flattering and polite manner you have been pleased to convey to me the resolutions of this House."

As soon as the fleet was refitted, his lordship again resumed the command; but as the Venerable had been found unfit for farther service, he hoisted his flag on board the Kent of 74 guns. After so decisive and glorious a victory as the one we have just described, it could not be expected that any very important occurrence should speedily take place on the same station; and we accordingly find, that though his lord-

ship remained there till the year 1800, nothing remarkable took place, except the expedition to Holland under his Royal Highness the Duke of York, when the remainder of the Dutch fleet surrendered without resistance. But as that event occurred more immediately under the direction of Admiral Mitchell, we shall reserve the particulars for the Memoir of that officer.

His lordship now finding his health decline, and every object of the war accomplished on the station he commanded, obtained leave to strike his flag, and retire to Scotland, where the respect and admiration which were borne him for his public conduct was, if possible, exceeded on account of his numerous private virtues. He died August 4, 1804, in his seventy-fourth year; and it was said of him, that "he met the stroke of death with the dignity of a hero, and the resignation of a true and sincere Christian."

There are but few persons either in the navy, the army, the church, or the state, who have risen to any eminence without calling forth the malignity of some, or the obloquy of others; but amongst those few we must place the name of Duncan; and perhaps there never was a character in the British navy who united in himself so many rare, valuable, and amiable qualities as his lordship. Nature appears to have implanted in his bosom from his earliest youth a desire for great and noble actions, which was heightened by the perusal of the lives of those great and good men who had gone before him; and the event fully proves the truth of the theoretical reasoning at the head of this article. He entered the service with the commendable ambition of attaining the highest honours in it; but in so doing, he felt that he should not succeed without the greatest exertion, the utmost display of zeal and energy, and a constant attention to the arduous duties of his station. He performed those duties to the satisfaction of his superiors; he enjoyed their confidence and esteem, and gained his promotion by merit and by degrees: but the observation, that the best of men and most able of officers frequently pass the greater part of their lives in obscurity, till chance or accident throws them into situations, where their abilities burst forth like meteors and astonish the world, was never more fully exemplified than in the instance of Admiral Duncan. "He broke forth from his obscurity at an age when others think themselves doomed to it for ever; and when many begin to entertain thoughts of retiring from the world, he began to make the most conspicuous figure in it." It is true, as a professional

man his merits were well known to his brother officers, but the first occasion on which he attracted the notice and applause of his country was after his appointment to command the North Sea fleet. During the critical and alarming period of the mutiny, he had constant employ for his various abilities: his discretion, his firmness, and his talent of persuading, were all needed to keep men together who were in such a degree of excitation, who had so many apparent causes of complaint, and no other motive to induce their obedience than zeal for the common cause and respect for his character. From the prompt courage and calmness which he displayed, the patriotic ardour which he evinced, joined to the experience which he possessed, every thing was expected from him, should another more happy and glorious occasion occur to bring them into action. His diligence and perseverance were eminently displayed during his blockade of the enemy's port, in the most tempestuous seasons, when the intensity of the cold and the violence of the wind, joined to the dangers of the coast, and added to the mutinous spirit which had manifested itself in his fleet, all contributed to render his situation one of extreme peril and importance; but having successfully contended with the former, and subdued the latter, his fame rose in proportion, until it reached the very zenith of renown. But no one could have effected those objects whose heart was not as pure as his courage was great, and whose understanding was as clear as it was strong and powerful; one in whom the milder virtues were as conspicuous as the martial; one who united benevolence with bravery, and one who possessed the hearts of the seamen as well as the confidence of the government. At length the moment drew nigh when the whole were to be put to the hazard; when he was to be crowned with laurel, or decorated with cypress; when he was to obtain a glorious victory, or sink into the grave with a degraded celebrity. The 11th of October arrived, and he went into battle accompanied with the hopes and fears of his countrymen: the officers and seamen of his fleet, however, placed the utmost reliance on his abilities. On that memorable day they acted with a coolness and resolution suitable to every emergency, and from the commencement to the close of the action, testified a readiness to obey command, and a determination to conquer or die, which had never been exceeded on any former occasion, and totally obliterated the stain which their previous conduct had placed on their characters. Here was also the character of the admiral fully displayed; here was his piety evinced; here were his

skill and courage exerted, and here were his humanity and tender feelings pourtrayed. Whilst bearing down to the enemy, and during the awful moments of preparation for battle, he called all his officers upon deck, and in their presence prostrated himself in prayer before the God of Hosts, committing himself and them, with the cause they maintained, to his sovereign protection, his family to his care, his soul and body to the disposal of his providence, and then rising from his knees, he gave orders for a close and vigorous attack. And after the action was over, during which he evinced the highest gallantry and judgment, and a perfect knowledge of his profession—when the victory was decided, and the Dutch admiral was brought on board, he then in his presence ordered the crew upon deck, and again upon his bended knees solemnly, with fervour and humility, offered up praise to the God of battles for the success which had crowned his exertions and immortalized his name. It is difficult to conceive a more interesting scene than was then exhibited, or a commander possessing so amiable a character, so fond of exercising such acts of piety and devotion, employed in defending his king and country against the attacks of a bold and enterprising enemy. In the service of his king he forgot not his duty to his Maker. In obeying the orders of his superiors, he did not overlook the wants of the men, and the duty he owed to them; he was constant in his attention towards them, was prompt to reward merit and relieve their necessities, and endeavoured to direct their minds to those rational and important objects for which Providence has designed such valuable gifts. Though his character may be tinged with imperfections (of which we are ignorant), they are not of that hue which detract either from his precept or example, nor diminish his merit in the eyes of those who consider the general tenor of the actions of men, who judge of religion by its sanctity, and of virtue by its efficacy. As an admiral he was bold and daring, but neither rash nor precipitate; he saw in a moment every possible advantage, seized it instantly, pursued it to the extremity, but never attempted impossibilities. He met obstructions with temper, and submitted to hardships with fortitude; and his intrepidity was accompanied with a calmness which peculiarly fitted him for those seasons of danger which he experienced. The virtues which he possessed as a man have entitled him to the same admiration and praise which he derived from his professional genius and the success of his actions. Cool, deliberate, and guarded, he pursued those principles in every situation and on every

occasion. He was neither subject to passion, nor those sudden fits of friendship or dislike with which others have been actuated; constant in his attachments, he was a steady friend and a truly affectionate relative. In his person, he was of a manly and athletic form, erect and graceful, with a countenance that indicated great intelligence and benevolence, and was considered one of the handsomest men of the age. Indeed it is hard to say whether his person, his understanding, the goodness of his heart, or his professional abilities, were the most conspicuous, as the fair, the learned, the good, and the brave held him in equal admiration*.

Whether therefore we consider him in public or private life, we find that he possessed virtues, not barely sufficient to create reverence and respect, but the love and admiration of all who knew him. No commander ever displayed a more generous courage, and very few so much benevolence and humanity. The sick and wounded sailors ever found him ready to relieve their necessities; he exerted himself to animate them to perform their duties with cheerfulness, and to alleviate the hardships they experienced, and gained their love and esteem by acts of kindness. He knew how to maintain his authority without divesting himself of that humanity and affability which are the ornaments of a complete officer; he at all times treated them like Englishmen, and was anxious to prove himself capable of command without the degrading application of the cat-o'nine-tails. Manly and unreserved, gentle, kind, and conciliating in his disposition, he united the most exalted sentiments to the most charming simplicity of manners. He contemned every little art for the acquisition of wealth, and was as much ashamed of doing any thing mean or dishonourable, as of bearing it when done to himself. He consequently enjoyed a large share of the friendship and almost the universal goodwill of mankind.

* It is reported, that on his appointment to a lieutenancy, and passing through Chatham, the inhabitants were so struck with his figure and appearance, that they came out of their houses, and followed him as far as the eye could reach, as though they beheld some strange or unusual prodigy.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF

ADMIRAL SAMUEL CRANSTON GOODALL.

DR. JOHNSON has most justly observed, that " reputation is a meteor which blazes awhile and disappears for ever; and if we except a few transcendent and invincible names, which no revolution of opinion or length of time is able to suppress, all those that engage our thoughts or diversify our conversation are every moment hasting to obscurity, as new favourites are adapted to fashion." This is a truth so self-evident to every observer, it so completely carries conviction with it, that it merely requires to be pointed out to meet with universal concurrence; and if we were desired to produce an instance, we should supply it in the case of Admiral Goodall, who to the most hardy and intrepid valour, added to the highest qualities of professional knowledge, joined the most amiable private virtues; who during his life attained the highest estimation of all who had the honour to know him, but is now scarcely remembered, and still less spoken of. His early conduct and actions, like those of many of his cotemporaries, appear to be buried in obscurity, and the first authentic information that we have of him is from the date of his commission as a lieutenant, which was signed September 1, 1756; but we are unacquainted with the names of the ships, or the services on which he was employed, during the time he held that commission. On the 2d June, 1760, he was promoted to the rank of commander, and appointed to the Hazard sloop of 8 guns, in which he sailed on a cruise, and captured the Duc d'Ayen French privateer of the same force. After which he was ordered to the West Indies, where, on the 3d January, 1762, he obtained post-rank and the command of the Mercury of 20 guns. In this vessel he served under the orders of Sir George Pocock, and subsequently proceeded to the North American station, where he remained till 1764, when he returned to England; and it having become expedient to reduce the naval force of the country, the same cause that produced that reduction rendered the ensuing period very uninteresting with regard to naval affairs; it passed away without the smallest event worthy of notice occurring in which Captain Goodall was concerned, till 1770,

when he proceeded for a short time to the Mediterranean; but he does not again come under our notice till the commencement of the war with France in 1778, when he was commissioned to the Defiance of 64 guns. In the action off Ushant, between Admiral Keppel and the Count d'Orvilliers, he was distinguishedly engaged, and had 25 men killed and wounded. In the following year he removed into the Valiant of 74 guns, and sailed with Commodore Fielding to intercept a convoy of Dutch merchant-ships, laden with naval stores for Brest, and escorted by four ships of war under Admiral Count Byland; the whole of which were brought to Spithead. Without going into a statement of facts and circumstances, the particulars of which we have repeatedly related, it will be sufficient to state, that he continued to serve under the respective commanders, Admirals Hardy, Geary, Darby, and Kemperfelt, participating in their success, till 1781, when he proceeded to the West Indies with Sir George Rodney, where fresh honours awaited him; and the year 1782 cannot be mentioned without calling to mind the memorable events which then signalized the fleet of Britain and the brilliant conduct of Captain Goodall. The glory achieved on the 9th April will never be forgotten, and in the history of that day his name stands enrolled amongst those whose gallantry bore the brunt of the contest: he belonged to the van division, was second to Sir Samuel Hood, and had 38 men killed and wounded. Though from the leeward situation of the Valiant, and nearly the whole of the rear division, on the day of the 12th, Captain Goodall was not so particularly distinguished as on the 9th, he had, after the battle, a farther opportunity of evincing his courage and abilities. He accompanied Sir Samuel Hood in pursuit of the flying enemy, and on the 19th, in the Mona Passage, chase was given to two ships of the line and three frigates. One of the latter escaped, but the others were captured. In mentioning this affair, we should not do justice to the character of Captain Goodall if we did not describe more particularly the active gallantry he displayed. It was much to be feared that both the line-of-battle-ships would endeavour to run ashore, from which they were at no great distance. The Valiant, outsailing the rest of the ships, came up first with the enemy, and running close along side the Caton, the sternmost, she surrendered without making the least resistance; but Captain Goodall, eager to attack the other ship, the Jason, before she reached the shore, left the Caton to be taken possession of by the ships

coming up, and, pushing on with a press of sail, soon brought the Jason to action. This ship defended herself for forty minutes, when being greatly disabled, and having lost a number of men, she struck her colours, and thus had he the honour of capturing two sail of the line.

After the arrival of Admiral Pigot, Captain Goodall proceeded with him to America, and was subsequently detached with Sir Samuel Hood to cruise off Cape François; but the termination of hostilities which shortly after took place deprived him of any farther opportunity of distinguishing himself. The Valiant having been paid off, Captain Goodall does not appear to have held any command during the peace till the armament in 1790, when he was commissioned to the Gibraltar of 80 guns; but as that affair passed off without a declaration of war, he was again deprived of his command. On the ensuing 21st September, he was raised to the rank of rear-admiral of the Blue; and in 1792, he was appointed to the chief command of the Newfoundland station: from thence, however, he was recalled the latter end of the same year, and in the beginning of the following, was directed to proceed to the Mediterranean, having his flag on board the Princess Royal of 98 guns. When possession was taken of Toulon, he was appointed governor of the city; a situation which he filled to the entire satisfaction of Lord Hood till the arrival of Sir Gilbert Eliott, who had been appointed to that office by his Majesty. Admiral Goodall, therefore, resumed his duties as a flag-officer in the fleet, and by his advice and assistance throughout the whole of that trying and critical service, rendered the most essential service to the country and the cause in which he had embarked. In the expedition undertaken against Corsica, Admiral Goodall distinguished himself no less eminently than he had on the former occasion, by his very strict attention to those particular avocations, in some degree to be considered as extraneous to the duty of a naval officer, which the peculiar exigences of the service in which he was engaged rendered indispensably necessary. Lord Hood, in his official dispatches, paid him the just encomiums his high merit claimed, by acknowledging the obligations he felt himself under to him, not only for his promptitude in carrying into instant execution such orders as were immediately in the professional department of a naval officer, but by his great attention to supply the wants of the troops serving on shore. After the return of Lord Hood to England, Admiral Goodall became second in command of the fleet under

Admiral Hotham, and was of course present in the conflicts which took place with the French fleet; but owing to the extreme caution of the enemy, he was not particularly engaged. Shortly after the last of these contests, Admiral Goodall struck his flag and returned to England, disappointed, it is said, in not being appointed to the chief command. He did not again take upon himself any professional employment, but ever after lived in retirement. On the 12th April, 1794, he was made vice-admiral of the Blue; and on the 14th February, 1799, he attained the rank of admiral of the Blue. He died at Teignmouth in 1801, leaving a high character for professional knowledge and personal bravery. Indeed, as Lord Nelson observed, it would have been difficult to have found a more deserving or better officer.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL H. R. H. THE DUKE OF CLARENCE,
&c. &c. &c.

IN conducting this work, we are not only anxious to commemorate the brilliant achievements of those officers who have left the busy scene of their exertions, but also of those who still live to enjoy the fruits of their genius and efforts—the applause and admiration of a grateful country. And though objections may be made to a biography of living characters, lest those who superintend it may be "tempted by interest or friendship to pervert the truth," we can only promise, that the same impartiality which we have manifested in narrating the actions of those who are dead, will be adhered to in recording the conduct of the living.

It is with some degree of satisfaction we find that the first living character we have to notice is a prince of the blood, a son of that monarch whose reign was so prolific in naval officers of renown; a reign to which our work more particularly relates, and a reign in which the navy experienced more attention, and consequently obtained greater celebrity, than it ever before attained. As a proof of his Majesty's earnest solicitude with regard to the honour and importance of that part of the national defence, on the 15th June, 1779, he placed his third son, Prince William Henry, who was born August 21, 1765, as a midshipman on board the Prince George, bearing the flag of Admiral the Hon. Robert Digby*; not nominally as a midshipman, but to do its duties, to have a thorough knowledge of the profession, to learn by practical experience the duties attached to the different stations, and to learn how to obey as well as to command; a circumstance which excited universal admiration, and upon which the best hopes and expectations were founded. The Prince George having cruised for some time in the Channel and Bay of Biscay, was placed at the end of the year under the orders of Sir George Rodney, and sailed with him to the relief of Gibraltar. He here witnessed the capture of the Spanish Caraccas squadron and the defeat of Langara. After the relief of Gibraltar had been effected, he was present at the

* See page 190.

capture of the Prothée of 64 guns, and several vessels under her convoy*. On her return, the Prince George was attached to the Channel fleet, and continued on that service till the spring of 1781, when she again proceeded to Gibraltar with a large convoy for the relief of that important fortress. Admiral Digby having been appointed commander-in-chief on the North American station, his royal highness proceeded thither with him; but preferring an active situation to a stationary one, he requested permission to remove into the Warwick of 50 guns, commanded by Captain Keith Elphinstone, and sailed with him on a cruise off the Delaware, and assisted at the capture of the French ships L'Aigle of 40 guns, La Sophie of 22 guns, and the Terrier sloop of war†. Hostilities having nearly ceased in that quarter, his royal highness, anxious to partake of a more busy scene of action, removed into the Barfleur of 98 guns, bearing the flag of Lord Hood, and accompanied him to the West Indies. His lordship having cruised for some time off Hispaniola, proceeded to Port-Royal, Jamaica, where his royal highness was presented with a respectful address by the inhabitants. During his stay on the island, he was treated with the most distinguished marks of attention by all ranks of people; and as a farther testimony of their respect, the merchants, planters, and some of the other principal inhabitants, raised a corps of cavalry for the express purpose of attending him, and to which they gave the name of Prince William Henry's regiment‡.

The beginning of March 1783, Lord Hood sailed on a cruise off Cape François, and on the 6th April received intelligence of preliminaries of peace having been signed. At the same time, M. de Balcombe, the governor of the Cape, sent off an officer to the squadron with an invitation to his royal highness, requesting he would honour the Cape with his presence; which being graciously complied with, the Bloodhound sloop

* During the continuance of the squadron at Gibraltar, the Spanish Admiral Langara paid a visit to Admiral Digby, and was introduced to his royal highness. During the conference between the admirals, Prince William retired; but when it was intimated that Don Juan wished to return, his royal highness appeared in his character of midshipman, and respectfully informed the admiral that the boat was ready. The Spaniard, astonished to see the son of a monarch doing the duty of a petty officer, exclaimed, "Well does Great Britain merit the empire of the seas, when the humblest stations in her navy are filled by princes of the blood."

† See *Memoir of Lord* Keith, *Naval Chronology*, vol. ii. p. 108.

‡ Schomberg.

was ordered to receive his royal highness on board, and to convey him into the harbour. He was received with every honour and attention due to his exalted rank; above 6000 troops lined the streets through which he passed to the governor's house, where he was entertained in a most magnificent style. On the following day, his royal highness returned to the squadron, highly delighted with the reception he had experienced. Lord Hood immediately bore up and proceeded to Jamaica, where the squadron arrived on the 12th; soon after which, his royal highness received the following handsome communication from Don Galvez, the governor of Louisiana and commander-in-chief of the Spanish troops at the Cape; and by which it will be seen that the visit of his royal highness had the effect of saving the lives of several British subjects who had been condemned to death.

"Sir,—The Spanish troops cantoned throughout the country have not, as the French had, the happiness to take up their arms to salute your royal highness, nor that of paying you those marks of respect and consideration which are your due: it is what they will ever regret.

"I have in confinement in Louisiana the principal person concerned in the revolt at Nachez, with some of his accomplices. They have forfeited their parole and oath of fidelity. A council of war, founded on equitable laws, has condemned them to death, and the execution of their sentence waits only my confirmation as governor of the colony. They are all English. Will you be pleased, sir, to accept their pardon and their lives in the name of the Spanish army and my king? It is, I trust, the greatest present that can be offered to one prince in the name of another. Mine is generous, and will approve my conduct.

"In case your royal highness deigns to interest yourself for these unfortunate men, I have the honour to send inclosed an order for their being delivered the moment any vessel arrives in Louisiana, communicating your pleasure. We shall consider ourselves happy if this can be agreeable to you."

To this letter his royal highness dispatched the following answer by Captain Manley Dixon, in the Tobago sloop:

"Port-Royal, Jamaica, *April* 13, 1783.

"Sir,—I want words to express to your excellency my just sense of your polite letter, of the delicate manner in which you caused it to be delivered, and your generous conduct towards the unfortunate. Their pardon, which you have been pleased to grant on my account, is the most agreeable present you could have offered me, and is strongly characteristic of the bravery and gallantry of the Spanish nation. This instance increases, if possible, my opinion of your

excellency's humanity, which has appeared on so many occasions in the course of the late war.

" Admiral Rowley is to dispatch a vessel to Louisiana for the prisoners. I am convinced they will ever think of your excellency's clemency with gratitude; and I have sent a copy of your letter to the king, my father, who will be fully sensible of your excellency's attention to me.

" I request my compliments to Madame Galvez, and that you will be assured, that actions so noble as those of your excellency's will ever be remembered by

(Signed) " William Henry."

Admiral Rowley accordingly dispatched a sloop of war to Louisiana, and the prisoners were brought to Jamaica*.

On the 26th April, Lord Hood sailed from Port-Royal on his return to England; but on the 29th his royal highness went on board the Fortunée frigate, and proceeded to the Havannah, where he was as usual received with the utmost respect and attention. During his stay, he visited the Moro Castle, the dock-yards, and reviewed above 5000 troops. On the 12th May, the squadron under Lord Hood arrived off the Moro Castle, when the Fortunée came out of the harbour, followed by his royal highness in the Spanish admiral's barge, attended by the respective captains of his squadron in their several barges, and under the fire of a royal salute. Having reached the Barfleur, the squadron bore up and proceeded on its passage to England, where it arrived the 26th June.

His royal highness having served the regular time as a midshipman, underwent the usual examination before the comptroller of the navy and two senior post-captains, and in June 1785, was appointed third lieutenant of the Hebe frigate, commanded by Captain Edward Thornbrough; soon after which the Hon. Levison Gower hoisted his broad pendant on board of her, and proceeded on a cruise round Great Britain and the Orkney Islands. On his return he touched at Belfast in Ireland, and from thence proceeded down St. George's Channel, and arrived at Spithead the latter end of August. His royal highness was presented with an address by the inhabitants of every place at which he stopped, and was treated with every mark of attention due to his rank. He continued in the Hebe till February 1786, when he was appointed first lieutenant of the Pegasus of 28 guns; which situation he filled only till the 10th April following, when he took the chief command, having been appointed to post-rank. On the 5th June, the Pegasus left Plymouth Sound, and

* Schomberg.

sailed for North America*, where he visited Newfoundland, Halifax, and several other places. He then proceeded to the West Indies, where the same manifestations of respect were repeated which had formerly been shewn towards him. The House of Assembly at Barbadoes voted him a sword valued at 300 guineas; and the Assembly at Dominica presented him with a piece of plate of the same value. During his continuance on this station, his royal highness was under the command of Captain Nelson, between whom there existed the utmost degree of friendship. He seconded him in his attempts to correct the abuses in the dock-yards and proceedings of the prize-agents. They visited the different islands together, dined alternately with each other†, and on the marriage of Nelson, the bride was presented to him by his royal highness, as a particular mark of that respect and esteem which he had formed for him. It was this era, as his royal highness acknowledged, that first formed his character as a naval officer, and was employed in a manner highly gratifying. "It was then," adds the prince‡, "that I particularly observed the greatness of Nelson's superior mind. The manner in which he enforced the spirit of the Navigation Act first drew my atten-

* His arrival was thus noticed: "His royal highness landed amidst the acclamations of a numerous and loyal people. He was welcomed on shore by Major-General Campbell and his Excellency Governor Parr, by whom he was conducted to the Government-House. His royal highness at landing expressed his desire that all military form and etiquette with respect to him should be laid aside; but it was found impossible to stop the joy which broke forth and pervaded all ranks."

† The following letters from the West Indies at that time furnish some information respecting this tour:

"DOMINICA, *Dec.* 20.

"On the 11th arrived here the Pegasus, His Royal Highness Prince William Henry commander. He was received by the governor, the legislature, and the officers of the 30th regiment, who paid him the highest honours. Two French sloops are arrived with the congratulations of the Viscount Demas, governor of Martinique, and the Baron de Clugny, governor of Guadaloupe, on his royal highness's arrival in the West Indies, and a request that he would favour those islands with a visit."

"*February* 11.

"Prince William Henry has been at Antigua for some time past, repairing his ship, where all ranks are vying with each other in making grand entertainments for their illustrious visitor. The prince is quite the officer; he has not slept a night out of his ship since his arrival in these seas, until coming into English harbour, when the ship's heaving down obliged him to be on shore. He shews the most amiable disposition and condescension on every occasion; sees to the detail of the business of the ship, and delivers his own orders with the most minute attention to the duty and discipline of his crew."

‡ Clarke and M'Arthur's *Life of* NELSON.

tion to the commercial interests of my country. We visited the different islands together; and as much as the manœuvres of fleets can be described off the headlands of islands, we fought over again the principal naval actions in the American war. Excepting the naval tuition which I received on board the Prince George, when the present Rear-Admiral Keats was lieutenant of her, and for whom both of us equally entertained a sincere regard, my mind took its first decided naval turn from this familiar intercourse with Nelson." And the latter entertained for the prince the highest regard. In a letter to his friend Captain Locker, he said, "You must have heard long before this reaches you, that Prince William is under my command. I shall endeavour to take care that he is not a loser by that circumstance. He has his foibles as well as private men, but they are far overbalanced by his virtues. In his professional line he is superior to near two-thirds, I am sure, of the list; and in attention to orders and respect to his superior officer, I hardly know his equal. This is what I have found him.*"

A little circumstance, however, occurred, which made great noise at the time, and drew down upon his royal highness considerable censure from those who were unacquainted with the particulars. On his going on shore on one occasion he left express orders that none of the crew should, during his absence, be permitted to quit the ship. The lieutenant, however, from the general maxim, that the superior officer on board has a right to exercise uncontrouled command, permitted a boat to go on shore with some of the men. This coming to his royal highness's knowledge, who could not possibly be pleased with what appeared manifestly done in defiance of his instructions, he adopted the method of expressing his disapprobation of the act by reprimanding the lieutenant in the order-book. What Nelson thought of this step may be seen from the following: In a letter to Captain Locker he said, "His royal highness keeps up strict discipline in his ship; and without paying him any compliment, she is one of the finest ordered frigates I have seen. He has had more plague with his officers than enough: his first lieutenant will, I have no doubt, be broke. I have put him under arrest, he having written for a court-martial on himself to vindicate his conduct, because his captain thought proper to reprimand him in the order-book. In short, our service has been so much relaxed during the war, that it will cost many a court-martial to bring it up again." And in a letter to Com-

* Clarke and M'Arthur.

modore Alan Gardner at Jamaica, he said, " In a public letter a commander would be wrong to set forth all the reasons which influence his conduct; but as I hope to have your approbation, I take the liberty of mentioning a few circumstances. His royal highness will give you an account of Lieutenant ——'s conduct, and of his having put him under arrest. His royal highness's narrative is so explicit, that I cannot so fully inform you as that will. I am sure, sir, you will consider his royal highness stands in a very different situation to any other captain: his conduct will be canvassed by the world when ours never would be thought of. In order to shew my disapprobation of officers writing for court-martials to vindicate their conduct for trivial matters, I gave out the inclosed order, that other officers should not fall into the same error. It might soon have risen to such a height, that if a top-sail were not thought by the captain properly or briskly reefed, or some other trivial matter, and he reprimanded the officer, the officer would say, ' Sir, I think it properly done; and I shall write for a court-martial to vindicate my conduct from your unjust accusation.' If this were to be allowed, farewell discipline—the service is ruined. His Majesty may be deprived of the services of his officers, and the best-laid schemes may be frustrated by the malignity of individuals, or from pique against their commanders." Without the knowledge of naval usage, a man at all conversant in legal constructions, or even the plainest principles of common sense, must see, if he is not blinded by prejudice, that the general rule above alluded to could never be intended to overthrow any positive orders left by a superior officer at the will of the inferior. If indeed a case of necessity should arise, the latter would have a right to act according to his discretion; but it must always be at his peril, if he cannot prove at least that it appeared to be absolutely necessary: still more so, if he manifestly breaks through, wilfully or perversely, the very orders which himself received from his superior officer, and is consequently bound to see regularly carried into execution*.

The court-martial, however, did not take place, owing to the kind interference of his royal highness; a circumstance which gave the utmost satisfaction, and which drew from Nelson a letter, of which the following is an extract: " If to be truly great is to be truly good, as we are taught to believe, it never was more strongly verified than in your royal highness, in the instance of Mr. ——. You have supported, sir, your character;

* Harrison's *Life of* Nelson.

yet at the same time, by an amiable condescension, you have saved an officer from appearing before a court-martial, which ever must hurt him. Resentment I know your royal highness never had, nor I am certain ever will bear any one: it is a passion incompatible with the principles of a man of honour. Mr. —— was certainly too hasty in writing his letter; but now you are parted, pardon me, my prince, when I presume to recommend that he may stand in your royal favour as if he had never sailed with you, and that at some future day you will serve him. There only wants this to place your conduct in the highest point of view. None of us are without failings: his was being too hasty; but that point put in competition with his being a good officer, will not, I am bold to say, be taken in the scale against him." And in another part he said, "Nothing is wanting, sir, to make you the darling of the English nation, but truth: sorry I am to say, much to the contrary has been dispersed."

Having left the West Indies, his royal highness proceeded to North America, where he joined the squadron under Admiral Herbert Sawyer, and from thence he returned to England, where he arrived on the 15th November; shortly after which he was appointed to the Andromeda, and again sailed for the West Indies. On his arrival at Jamaica, the whole House of Assembly waited upon him with an address of congratulation; and afterwards voted a sum of 1000 guineas for the purchase of an elegant star, to be presented to his royal highness as "an humble testimony of the very high respect and esteem that island entertains for his eminent virtues, and the happiness they feel in seeing him amongst them; as well as of the grateful sense they have of the particular attention which his royal highness pays to the duties of his profession, which is the support and defence of the British empire in general, and of this island in particular." A mark of honour and distinction which his royal highness received in a manner that gave general satisfaction.

On the 19th May, 1789, his royal highness was created Duke of Clarence and St. Andrew's in Great Britain, and Earl of Munster in Ireland. In the armament of 1790, his royal highness was appointed to the Valiant of 74 guns; and on the 3d December, in the same year, he was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the Blue; on the 12th April, 1794, to be vice-admiral of the Blue; on the 14th February, 1799, to be admiral of the Blue; and on the death of Sir Peter Parker, in December 1811, he was appointed to succeed that officer as admiral of the fleet.

In October 1800, his royal highness was presented with the freedom

of Liverpool, in a box made of heart of oak, highly polished, inlaid, and lined with gold, as a testimony of the high opinion which they entertained of his great parliamentary services on the important question relative to the slave trade. The House of Assembly at Jamaica also voted him a piece of plate valued at 3000 guineas, for the same purpose.

On the abdication of Buonaparte in April 1814, his royal highness hoisted his flag on board the Jason frigate, and had the gratification to escort his Majesty Louis XVIII. to his hereditary dominions. His royal highness afterwards hoisted his flag on board the Impregnable of 98 guns, and conveyed the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia to the shores of Great Britain.

His royal highness married, July 11, 1818, her Serene Highness Adelaide, Princess of Saxe-Meiningen.

The conduct of princes is generally viewed through so false a medium, that they seldom receive their due share of applause or censure till long after life has ceased to exist. They are generally painted either like dwarfs or giants; and the busy public are too eager about the consequences, and too apt to take others' opinions, impartially to examine the truth of their assertions, and the motives from which their sentiments spring. What the opinion of posterity may be as to the private and general character of his royal highness, we have no means of judging; but as to his professional conduct, it cannot be difficult to conceive and decide. Though delicacy requires that we should be careful in attributing even that degree of merit, and bestowing that degree of praise, which are due to officers who are still living, lest improper motives should be attributed by the invidious; still we consider, that justice and the good of the service require that a due share of applause should be given to all those, whether living or dead, through whose abilities and exertions the country has benefited.

There have been several princes in the royal navy, but not one of them ever received a seaman's education: they were not actuated by the good of the service; they received the benefits without experiencing the toil and trouble incident to a naval life; they seemed led away with that principle which, however erroneous, was some time prevalent, that it was possible to be a good officer without being a good seaman; and notwithstanding that excellent regulation which prevents any one from attaining promotion in the navy until he has served in a subordinate situation for a period of time long enough to acquire sufficient experience

to enable him to fill the situation in rotation, a regulation which obliges every one who enters the profession to devote himself early to study its principles and duties, the utmost pains were taken by those who had power or influence, to avoid as much as possible a " cock-pit education." It was a difficult point to convince a young man " of family," that to become great in the profession, he must incessantly labour to acquire professional knowledge, before he can be intrusted with the charge of a line-of-battle-ship in his watch after he has become a lieutenant; still more, that he must be exposed to danger, that he must be inured to hardships, that his heart must become steeled to the hazards of war, and all this by practical experience, before he can become a good officer. If he have not a seaman's knowledge and abilities, in the event of his ship being disabled, either by bad weather or in battle, his character must be ruined. If he be not a judge of abilities in others, and any sudden emergency should arise to require extraordinary exertion, such as getting in lower-masts or shifting his top-masts, the performance will take double the time it would under an experienced officer. The men have confidence in their commander when they know he is a seaman, and go through their duty with double cheerfulness when they know he is competent to judge of and duly estimate their exertions. This his royal highness was convinced of, and the illustrious example he set in the indefatigable attention to and discharge of his duties was worthy of universal imitation, was attended with the most beneficial effects, and was deserving of the highest praise. Sensible that he could become master of his profession, and equal to the command for which he was destined, only by an unwearied application, he disdained the indulgence natural to his birth, and always shared the risks, the watchings and toils of a seaman. In the most inclement seasons, in dark and stormy nights, he went aloft to hand or reef the top-sails, and had the character of being the best midshipman on board the ship; and when a lieutenant, his captain is said to have declared, that, whilst cruising in the British Channel, and in the winter season, he was relieved from all anxiety when his royal highness had command of the watch upon deck. Placed in the responsibility of command, and on a distant station, his conduct was uniformly steady and persevering. With every pleasure to allure him, the only objects that attracted his attention were, the ship he commanded, and, in conjunction with the immortal Nelson, in endeavouring to uphold the maritime rights and interests of his country. From such excellent qua-

lifications, from such well-grounded hopes as they inspired, surprise is naturally excited, and the mind involuntarily inquires, why did not his royal highness, having acquired so much real knowledge, and possessing undaunted bravery, persevere in the profession he had adopted? We are unable to answer. But we have heard from the most competent authorities, exclusive of the testimony of Lord Nelson, that as a naval captain, as the commander of a ship, his royal highness was not only competent, but that few officers ever shewed more ability; that his vessel was constantly in the most perfect order, in full trim and excellent condition. The only complaint we ever heard was, that he was too strict, too severe. Of this we are not able to judge: we must refer the reader to the opinion of Lord Nelson, only observing that some of the best officers have been the greatest disciplinarians. It is, therefore, a subject of regret, that his royal highness did not persevere in the profession; that he was not allowed to hoist his flag, and animate a British squadron with his presence in the hour of battle. This being denied him, it is still more to be regretted, that his abilities were not exerted in a civil capacity. The service might then have experienced the happiest effects in having so exalted an individual at its head, without being subject to the inconvenience arising from every change of ministry, and the country relieved from that promotion of friends and favourites which attends the formation of every new Board.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL SIR RICHARD ONSLOW, BART. G. C. B.

To trace the progress of our naval defenders from their first entrance into the service to the close of their career, is a grateful and pleasing task; and a remembrance of the victories they achieved, and the laurels which encircled their brows, tends to animate those who have commenced their career in the same noble pursuit; it enables one justly to appreciate their merit, and to arouse posterity to an imitation of their virtues.

The family of Onslow has been distinguished in the annals of the country for several generations. Admiral Sir Richard Onslow was the second son of Lieutenant-General Onslow*, brother to Arthur Onslow, Esq. who was for many years Speaker of the House of Commons. He was born in 1741, and was at an early age induced by a strong inclination, and very probably by the example of his relative, Sir George Walton, to enter into the service of his country, and share the perils of a naval life. His first commission as lieutenant was dated December 17, 1758: but what his conduct and services were during that period we do not know; that they were exemplary we have no doubt. Where inclination leads, exertions follow, and where abilities are displayed, promotion as naturally attends them; and on the 11th February, 1761, he was advanced to the rank of commander. The war was then drawing to a close, and Captain Onslow had no opportunity to prove his courage and dexterity in combat with an enemy: it, however, did not terminate without his abilities being known; they were duly appreciated, and on the 14th April, 1762, he was advanced to post-rank, in the Humber of 40 guns. In this vessel he was shortly after ordered to convoy the outward-bound Baltic fleet, a service he successfully performed; but his return was not so fortunate, having run on the south end of Hazeborough sand, on the coast of Norfolk, and the Humber was entirely lost. The whole of the crew, however, were happily saved, with the exception of one man; and though several of the merchant-men struck the ground, they all escaped

* The general married Pooley, daughter of Charles Walton of Little-Bursted, in the county of Essex, and niece to Sir George Walton, Knight, admiral of the Blue.

shipwreck. Some degree of obloquy generally attaches itself to an officer who loses his ship; but in this instance the conduct of Captain Onslow was free from all blame, and the court-martial which sat to inquire into the circumstance, most honourably acquitted him.

Peace having taken place, Captain Onslow does not appear to have held any other command till 1766, when he was appointed to the Aquilon, and proceeded to the Mediterranean under the orders of Commodore Spry, where he continued till 1769, when he returned to England; and in the following year he was appointed to the Diana of 32 guns, one of the ships put in commission in consequence of the apprehended rupture with Spain. That affair having terminated without having recourse to hostilities, he sailed in 1771 with Sir George Rodney to the West Indies; but neither here, nor during the time he served in the Mediterranean, do we find any occurrence of a nature sufficiently interesting to demand particular attention.

In 1777, he was appointed to the St. Albans of 64 guns; and as the revolt of the American colonies had drawn down the resentment of the mother country, and it became necessary for great exertions to be made, Captain Onslow was directed to escort the outward-bound fleet to New-York, and then to place himself under the orders of Lord Howe. Previous to the arrival of the French squadron in those seas, the officers of the navy had few opportunities to distinguish themselves; and after the arrival of the enemy, their force was for some time so decidedly superior, that his lordship was under the necessity of acting on the defensive: in all his operations, however, Captain Onslow participated till the end of 1778*, when he sailed with Commodore Hotham for the West Indies. There he joined the force under Admiral Barrington, and proceeded with him to the attack on St. Lucia, where he superintended the debarkation of the troops, and in the defence of their position against the attacks of the French force under the Count d'Estaing. The conduct of Captain Onslow was marked by the coolest courage and intrepidity, and he displayed throughout the highest characteristics of a British officer. In June of the following year, Captain Onslow returned to England with the trading ships, and of course was not present in the action of the 6th July, off Grenada. Immediately on his arrival in

* Having accompanied Lord Howe in pursuit of the French squadron, in the night of the 30th August, he unfortunately got ashore on Cape Cod whilst putting in stays; but was got off the next day, without sustaining the smallest injury.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL SIR ROBERT BRICE KINGSMILL, BART.

SIR ROBERT, whose original name was Brice, was the descendant of an Irish family, and his father was Charles Brice of Castle-Chichester, near Kilroot, in Ireland, a captain in the army, and who married Jane, a daughter of —— Robinson, Esq. of Newton-Ardes, in the county of Down. He was born in the year 1730. A predilection for a naval life was evinced by him at that period when reason first begins to illumine the youthful mind; and being indulged in this propensity by his parents, he entered into the naval service of his country, in which he added many laurels to the wreath of British glory, as well as to his own personal fame, being of an active and enterprising disposition, displaying in a variety of instances a quickness of conception and such qualities as naturally excited the attention of those with whom he served. Having passed through the subordinate ranks of midshipman and master's mate, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant April 29, 1756; and until he obtained the first independent command, that of acting-captain of the Swallow sloop, in February 1761, he eminently displayed a diligent attention to the duties of his several stations, by which he not only "established his own credit, but acquired the esteem, the confidence, and the love of all those who were his superiors in rank with respect to the service, or under whose cognizance it became possible that his behaviour should fall." His inclinations being thus encouraged, he was naturally impelled in a profession which affords the most constant exercise to the brave and meritorious. Having sailed on a cruise off the coast of France, he fell in with and captured a privateer of 10 guns, which insured to him a confirmation of the rank he then held. He then removed to the Basilisk bomb-ketch, and proceeded to the West Indies with Rear-Admiral Rodney. In the reduction of Martinique, every exertion consistent with the service was made by Captain Brice; and after the fall of that island, he was detached, under the orders of Captain Hervey, against the Island of St. Lucia, which also fell into the possession of the British forces*. On the 26th

* Mr. Charnock and the *Naval Chronicle* state, that after the accomplishment of this service he returned to England, and was appointed to escort Princess Charlotte, the be-

May, 1762, he was advanced to the rank of post-captain, and to command the Crescent frigate; but notwithstanding the termination of hostilities, Captain Brice remained on this station till 1764, when he returned to England, and was paid off, and not again employed in any professional service till 1778.

In 1766, he married Miss Kingsmill, by which he became possessed of considerable landed and other property, and assumed the name of Kingsmill. In the encounter with the British and French fleets under Keppel and D'Orvilliers, Captain Kingsmill commanded the Vigilant of 64 guns, but sustained only trivial loss. The violent animosity which succeeded this battle, and which divided the country into factions and parties, had its effect upon Captain Kingsmill: he resigned the command of the Vigilant, and remained unemployed till the change of ministry in 1782. He was then appointed to the Elizabeth of 74 guns, in which he was ordered to the East Indies, with the Grafton of 74 guns, Europe of 64, and the Iphigenia of 32; but after encountering a violent storm in the Bay of Biscay, he was obliged to return into port; and as preliminaries of peace were shortly agreed upon, he did not again make the attempt, but continued to command the Elizabeth for three years as a guard-ship. At the apprehended rupture with Spain in 1790, Captain Kingsmill was amongst the first to offer his services, and amongst the first of those who were fortunate enough to receive commands. He was appointed to the Duke of 90 guns; but as the affair terminated without coming to hostilities, the Duke was immediately dismantled, and Captain Kingsmill returned to those domestic enjoyments which he had left for the service of his country. A circumstance, however, of a more serious nature shortly occurred to call him from his retirement, one in which it required the exertion of the utmost energies of the country to avert the effects of the deadly blows which were levelled at her—the French revolution.

On the 1st February, 1793, he was advanced to the rank of rear-admiral of the White. Soon after this promotion, he was appointed

trothed queen of George III. to England. But in this there must be some mistake. Her Majesty arrived in England in September 1761, and Captain Brice sailed with Admiral Rodney for the West Indies in the ensuing month of October; consequently, if he attended on that occasion, it must have been before he went to the West Indies, and not after. But we think he did not attend her Majesty, as his name is not mentioned by Beatson or Schomberg as commanding any vessel appointed to that service.

England, he was placed under the orders of Sir Charles Hardy; but the St. Albans being in want of a thorough repair, her captain was appointed to the Bellona of 74 guns, in which ship he had the good fortune to capture, on the 30th December, 1780, the Dutch ship Princess Caroline of 54 guns, after a sharp action, in which the enemy had four men killed and 12 wounded*. Captain Onslow continued to serve in the Channel fleet upon different services till 1782, when he sailed with Lord Howe to the relief of Gibraltar; and after the accomplishment of that object, and the subsequent partial engagement with the combined fleet, he was detached by his lordship to the West Indies, under the orders of Sir Richard† Hughes; but hostilities having terminated almost immediately afterwards, he returned to England, and does not appear to have been again employed till the Russian armament in 1791, when he was appointed to the Magnificent; but the fleet being dismantled in the course of the same year, Captain Onslow was deprived of his command, and did not accept of any other during the time he remained a captain.

A promotion of flag-officers having taken place on the 1st February, 1793, he was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the White; and on the 4th July, 1794, he was advanced to be vice-admiral of the White. In March 1796, he was nominated to the chief command at Plymouth; but his abilities being properly estimated, this situation was considered too inactive for him at such a season of hostilities, and he was accordingly ordered to hoist his flag on board the Monarch of 74 guns (which became renowned by the brilliant conduct of her commander), and to join the fleet under Admiral Duncan, as second in command. The period now drew near when this gallant and meritorious officer was to stamp his reputation with everlasting fame; and whilst he raised his own character to the highest pinnacle of glory, he materially increased the honour of his country and the profession to which he belonged. In the brilliant and hard-fought engagement of the 11th October, Admiral Onslow was the first in action. " He bore down," says Admiral Duncan, " on the enemy's rear in the most gallant manner," broke through the line, passed under the Dutch vice-admiral's stern, and engaged him to leeward for about two hours and a half, when the enemy's ship being totally dismasted, and

* Mr. Charnock has omitted to notice this action; and Mr. Beatson has inserted it twice, both in 1780 and 1781.

† Mr. Charnock and the *Naval Chronicle* erroneously state that it was Sir Edward Hughes.

finding all farther resistance vain, she struck her colours. The slaughter on board the Monarch was very great, being 36 killed and 91 wounded. After rendering the utmost exertions, and being of the greatest assistance in preventing the ships from taking the ground, Admiral Onslow returned to England, to receive the reward due to distinguished valour and merit. His Majesty conferred upon him the dignity of a baronet, the Houses of Parliament voted him their thanks, and the city of London presented him with their freedom and a sword of 100 guineas value. In addition to which, he was presented with a gold medal to commemorate the victory. Sir Richard continued in command in the North Sea, but without having any farther opportunity to distinguish himself, till 1799, when he returned to England, and we believe never afterwards went to sea.

On the 14th February, 1799, he was raised to the rank of admiral of the Blue; and subsequently obtained the distinguished honour of being appointed lieutenant-general of marines, and also that of being created Grand Cross of the Bath. He died at Southampton, January 3, 1818, aged seventy-seven.

commander-in-chief on the coast of Ireland, which situation he held till the year 1800. During that period twelve frigates, as many sloops or cutters, and a vast number of privateers, were taken or destroyed by the cruisers under his command. So effectually did he guard every avenue, creek, and inlet, that scarcely a month passed without the capture of some vessel which was calculated to injure the trade of England. He consequently not only deserved but obtained the thanks of government, and the general applause and approbation of all classes of his countrymen.

On the 4th July, 1794, he was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral of the White; on the 14th February, 1799, to be admiral of the Blue; and on the 24th November, 1800, he was raised to the dignity of a baronet, as a mark of his Majesty's approbation of the unremitting assiduity he displayed during his last command, to which Ireland was greatly indebted for her safety, or at least from a most dreadful effusion of human blood.

Sir Robert died November 23, 1805, at his seat at Sidmonton, Hants, aged seventy-five, but left no issue.

Though Sir Robert was not fortunate enough to meet with any one circumstance which would ensure a transmission of his name to posterity, he was known through the course of a long professional life as a skilful and active officer; as one, had it been his lot to have been opposed in any important command to the fleet of an enemy, whose ability and courage would no doubt have achieved a victory, and transmitted his name with as bright a lustre as any that distinguished his more fortunate cotemporaries. As commander-in-chief on the coast of Ireland, during the most active season of hostility and the most eventful period of the war, if the nature of the service on which he was employed was such as to preclude much of that splendour and glory which are reflected from great achievements, it was still highly useful, and attended with the most beneficial effects. The judicious conduct he displayed in stationing his cruisers, joined to their activity and diligence, materially annoyed the enemy, and afforded the most effectual support to the commerce of his own country. His private character was that of an open-hearted, generous man, conciliating in his manners, and mild in his disposition.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE COLLIER, KNIGHT.

ALTHOUGH the life and professional conduct of this gentleman were not attended with any of those great and signal actions which throw a fascinating splendour over the face of history, he abounded in business of less lustre, and invariably discharged his several duties with the highest credit and satisfaction.

Sir George was the son of a private gentleman, and born in 1738. He entered into the royal navy as a midshipman when about the age of thirteen, part of which time he served with Sir George Pocock. How long he continued with that distinguished officer we are uninformed, but it was probably sufficiently long to mark and imbibe the professional excellence of his character, to qualify him the more easily to fulfil the duties of the station he then held, to serve as a pattern for his subsequent conduct, and enable him to acquire the highest reputation. His promotion appears to have been rather rapid, as he was appointed a commander on the 6th August, 1761, and a post-captain on the 12th July, 1762. In this latter station he commanded the Bologne frigate till the following year, when peace having taken place, he was appointed to the Edgar of 60 guns, a guard-ship at Plymouth. In 1770, he was commissioned to the Tweed frigate, and sailed on a cruise in the Channel with a small squadron under the command of the Duke of Cumberland. Subsequently to this, Captain Collier commanded the Levant of 28 guns, and then the Flora of 32, so that he was employed during nearly the whole of the peace. He now retired to the bosom of his family to enjoy the comforts of domestic life, when the rebellion in the American colonies rendered it necessary for the country to equip a squadron of ships of war for its more speedy suppression. On this occasion he was appointed to the Rainbow of 44 guns; and in 1775 received the honour of knighthood.

In the following year he again proceeded to North America with Commodore Hotham, and a large reinforcement of troops for the army under General Howe. After his arrival at New-York, he was directed by Lord Howe to proceed to Halifax, and take upon himself the command

at that station, but as senior captain only, without the privilege of a broad pendant. He distinguished himself greatly whilst on this station. Having received information that the enemy had invested Fort Cumberland, he took immediate measures for its relief, and fortunately obliged the enemy to make a precipitate retreat. This object being accomplished, little remained for Sir George to perform during the winter months, but to station his ships in such situations as should enable them to protect the commerce of the loyal subjects of Britain, and capture or destroy that of the rebellious. Here again he was successful, and such satisfaction did his conduct give, that the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia passed a vote of thanks to him for his great attention. A similar mark of honour and respect was paid to him by the governor and council: indeed his name was held in the highest estimation throughout the whole province. The enemy now fitted out a small squadron of frigates, which in the spring of 1777 sailed on a cruise off the Banks of Newfoundland, effected considerable damage to the British trade, and captured the Fox frigate of 28 guns. Sir George immediately sailed in quest of the enemy, and on the 4th July got sight of them, and continued the pursuit all night. On the following day a fourth ship crossed the Rainbow, and fell into the enemy's wake. Notwithstanding doubts were entertained whether this ship was a friend or foe, Sir George continued the chase with unabated ardour. The enemy now separated, when the strange ship was discovered to be the Flora, Captain Brisbane, who continued the pursuit of one vessel, while Sir George followed the other two. Notwithstanding their superiority, they declined an engagement and stood different ways. Sir George had now to choose his object, and he chose the largest; but owing to the swiftness of the enemy's sailing, the chase continued till the 8th, and it was then owing to accident that Sir George was enabled to bring her to action. In hopes of making more sail, the American captain started the water in his fore-hold, and by that means put her out of trim. The Rainbow now gained fast upon her. About nine o'clock Sir George got within hail, when he told the enemy if he expected any quarter he must immediately surrender. No reply was made to this, and a fresh breeze springing up at that moment, the American captain made another effort to escape. A broadside was then fired into her, which was returned, and a sharp contest took place for a short time, when the rebel colours were hauled down, and Sir George took possession of one of the finest and fastest sailing vessels ever built. She

mounted 34 guns, and had on board 290 men. Sir George having returned to Halifax with his prize, had the pleasure to find the Flora, which had retaken the Fox frigate.

Shortly after his arrival, Sir George having received information that the Americans had projected an invasion of the province of Nova Scotia, sailed, accompanied by the Blonde, Mermaid, and Hope, to Machias, where all the magazines which the enemy had collected in hopes of making a successful attack, and which consisted of several storehouses filled with rice, flour, ammunition, and other articles, were totally destroyed, together with a fort and a sloop of 80 tons. Having effected this desirable object, which secured the inhabitants from any farther attempt on that side, Sir George proceeded along the coast of New-England, where his activity and spirit were particularly exerted, and where his exertions were rewarded with that success which ever attends the meritorious, having captured or destroyed thirty vessels of various descriptions. He continued on this station till the beginning of March 1779, when he succeeded Admiral Gambier as commander-in-chief of all his Majesty's ships and vessels in America. He immediately proceeded to New-York, and hoisted his broad pendant on board the Raisonable of 64 guns. Previous, however, to his leaving the colony of Nova Scotia, he was again waited upon by the governor and deputations from the council and merchants, to testify their respect and esteem for him, and the high opinion they held of his professional talents.

We have now to narrate his services as a commander-in-chief; but before doing so it will be necessary to state, that the fleet which he had succeeded to the command of was any thing but effective, was reduced to a very small number, and was ill-manned and out of condition: the affairs of England in America were also in a very low and precarious state. The object of Sir George was therefore to refit his squadron; and having succeeded as well as circumstances would permit, his next object was to annoy the enemy, and use his utmost exertions to root out rebellion in his Majesty's provinces. Having received undoubted information that the enemy were collecting vast quantities of stores and ammunition in Virginia, and that General Washington's army was supplied with provisions through the Chesapeake, he consulted with General Sir Henry Clinton on the expediency of an expedition to the Chesapeake and a descent on Virginia. The general being convinced of its practicability, and the great benefits to be derived from such operations, granted a de-

tachment of 1800 men for the purpose. The naval part of the expedition consisted of the Raisonable, Rainbow, Otter, Diligent, and Haerlem, with twenty-eight transports, the whole of which sailed on the 5th May. The troops were landed about three miles below the town of Portsmouth, the passage to which was covered by Fort Nelson; but the garrison abandoned it on the approach of the assailants, and that town, with Norfolk and Gosport, fell into their possession. They carried destruction wherever they came, and got possession of great quantities of stores and provisions. One ship of 36 guns, one of 18, three of 16, three of 14 on the stocks, together with above one hundred sail of merchantmen, were taken or destroyed. The town of Suffolk was also taken, and 9000 barrels of pork, 8000 barrels of pitch, tar, and turpentine, together with seven vessels richly laden, were captured or destroyed. The success of the expedition even exceeded the expectations of the projectors of it; and as every thing had been effected which was within their reach, such stores and provisions as could be carried away were put on board the ships, and Sir George returned to New-York the end of May.

Sir Henry having determined on an expedition up the North river, Sir George readily consented to accompany him. On their arrival at Stony Point the enemy fled in every direction, leaving that port and Verplanks in their possession. On their return to New-York a new expedition was concerted against the province of Connecticut, from whence issued several privateers, which greatly annoyed the British trade, but which Sir George totally destroyed. From this place Sir George was recalled by the information that the enemy had surprised and retaken the port at Stony Point: thither he proceeded with a reinforcement, and again placed it in the possession of the British forces. This was scarcely effected, when intelligence was received that the enemy had made an attack with a very formidable force on the settlements in the Penobscot. The enemy, mortified at the defeats and losses which they had sustained through the skill and valour of Sir George Collier, had projected this enterprise in hopes of retrieving their affairs, and atone in some measure for the disgrace they had experienced. Nothing which could tend to its success was omitted; 3000 troops in twenty-four transports, escorted by eighteen armed vessels, exclusive of a large frigate, was the amount of the force employed. Great exertions were therefore made to defeat so formidable an enemy. The Raisonable, Greyhound, Blonde, Virginie, Galatæa, and Otter sloop being ready, Sir George, although confined to his bed

with a violent fever, brought on by constant exertion, proceeded on the expedition. The Penobscot was entered on the 14th August, and the enemy was discovered drawn up in the form of a crescent across the river, apparently inclined to dispute the entrance. This resolution, however, if they had formed it, was soon abandoned; they took to flight, the transports first, followed immediately by the ships of war. A universal shout from the British squadron was heard, and echoed from ship to ship; joy was lit up in every countenance, and the highest satisfaction appeared at the inevitable defeat of so considerable a part of the rebel force. Sir George immediately ordered a general chase, which was obeyed with all the ardour and alacrity of British seamen. The pursuit continued the whole night and part of the following day, and was complete and decisive in every part. Not a vessel escaped; those which were not taken or destroyed by the British were set on fire by the enemy. Never was a victory more complete; never was an enemy struck with more terror, fear, and dismay, than the Americans were on that occasion. Though Sir George was unable to walk, he had a chair, and remained on deck during the whole day and part of the night, giving his orders with the utmost coolness, till he fainted through excessive weakness. Having reinforced the garrison, and made every arrangement to prevent a surprise, the commodore returned to New-York, where he found Admiral Arbuthnot, to whom he resigned the command of the squadron, and returned to England.

Sir George appears to have given the most general satisfaction while he held the command on this station, and left New-York with the most honourable testimonials of esteem. The commander-in-chief of the army, the governor and council, with a body of merchants, publicly expressed their concern, at his departure, for his safe arrival in his native country, and for a favourable reception from his sovereign. But however great the services were which Sir George had performed in America, they failed to secure him any additional mark of royal favour. He was knighted in 1775, but we have not been able to ascertain for what: he had performed no service of any consequence that we have been able to discover; and yet when he had rendered very important services to the country, he was denied the reward due to his valour and abilities. This has been attributed to the political principles of Sir George, and to the freedom with which he censured the conduct pursued by the ministers throughout the American war. If this were the case, it never could be

too highly reprobated, or such ministers held up too often to the contempt of the country. Sir George, however, was not deprived of all farther opportunity to distinguish himself, as in 1780 he was appointed to the Canada of 74 guns, one of the ships belonging to the Channel fleet. At the commencement of the following year he accompanied Admiral Darby to the relief of Gibraltar, and was briskly engaged with the gun and mortar-boats, which the enemy had collected to oppose the entrance of the victuallers into the bay. On returning from thence, the Canada being sent ahead of the fleet, discovered a Spanish ship of 44 guns, which he immediately chased, and after a pursuit of near seventy leagues, seeing there was no hope of escape, the enemy brought to, and as the Canada came up, began to engage, in hopes that a chance shot would enable her to effect her escape. This hope, however, proved futile, and she was compelled to surrender.

After his return to England, Sir George did not again go to sea, but retired into private life, till 1784, when he was elected M. P. for Honiton; and his conduct in his senatorial capacity was distinguished by the same independence of spirit which had marked his professional conduct. He joined the opposition party in the House of Commons, voted with Mr. Fox, and was considered as "one of the Prince's friends." On the expectation of a rupture with Spain in 1790, he was appointed to the St. George of 98 guns; but that dying away without any open rupture, the St. George was paid off.

On the 1st February, 1793, he was raised to the rank of rear-admiral of the White; and on the 12th July, 1794, to be vice-admiral of the Blue, which was the highest rank he lived to attain, though he was appointed in January following to the chief command at the Nore; but which appointment is said by his biographer to have prematurely hurried him to his grave: that he had long anxiously wished for employment; that he panted with the most ardent zeal for *active* service, and not such as is to be found in the dull routine of a port-admiral; that he felt severely the neglect he had experienced; that it preyed upon his constitution, and brought on a severe illness, which obliged him to resign the command, and retire to the peaceful shades of his own residence, where he died April 6, 1795.

The person of Sir George Collier was of the middle stature, but he was active and well-proportioned. It is, however, his inward qualities that we have to examine, rather than his outward appearance. If his exterior was

prepossessing, his head and heart were of a very amiable description. As a private individual, he was kind, benevolent, and accomplished. As a senator, he was honest and disinterested, suffering no allurements of wealth or power to swerve him from that strict path of duty which his conscience dictated to him as the best. As a naval officer, he was brave, active, and persevering: he possessed a thorough knowledge of his profession; was cool and determined in battle, but sociable and pleasant at table; slow to punish, but a strict observer of discipline. Sir George was also a literary character, being the author or translator of a dramatic piece, called *Selima and Azor*, which was successfully performed at Drury-lane Theatre in 1776.

He was twice married, first to Miss C. Gwyn, by whom he had one son: secondly to Miss E. Fryer, by whom he had two daughters and four sons; the latter of whom all entered into the service of the country, two in the army and two in the navy.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF COMMODORE GEORGE JOHNSTONE.

ACCORDING to Mr. Playfair, the Johnstones have for ages been esteemed an ancient, great, and warlike family, and derive their surname from the lands and barony of Johnstone, which was their patrimony in the early ages of Scottish history; and that the elder branch had not only long held the office of stewards of Annandale, but also, before the union of the two crowns, had often been appointed wardens of the West Borders, laying the foundation of their subsequent grandeur by their active services against the incursions of their southern neighbours. That they also performed great and beneficial services to their country in suppressing those predatory hosts of mass-troopers, who always, but more particularly during a state of warfare, committed great ravages on both sides of the Borders; for which they assumed the device of the winged spur. It appears also that there were two families of this name, which claimed pre-eminence over all the rest, and disputed for the chiefship between themselves; but it would be foreign to this work to enter into those particulars.

Commodore George Johnstone, the object of this Memoir, was the fourth son of Sir James Johnstone, the third baronet of Westerhall, and entered the British navy in hopes of adding to the honours of his family, as well as for the benefit and glory of the country. As a midshipman he served a part of his time with Captain Crookshanks on board the Lark. On leaving that ship a circumstance occurred which proved in some degree the spirit and character of Mr. Johnstone. Owing to some cause, with which we are unacquainted, Captain Crookshanks refused to grant him his certificate; upon which he sent him a challenge, which being accepted, the parties met, and Captain Crookshanks was wounded in the neck. Having obtained a lieutenancy in October 1755, he served under Captain Forrest in the West Indies, and also with Commodore Boyce, employed on Channel service. In 1759, we find him commanding the Viper sloop, and capturing a Dutch ship laden with indigo and cotton. In February 1760, he was promoted to the rank of commander, and was actively employed under Rear-Admiral Rodney off the French coast.

He is also mentioned as having captured a small privateer of 8 guns. After which he was sent to the coast of Portugal, in order to assist in the protection of the trade of England, which was at that time much annoyed by the privateers of France. Finding that those vessels greatly outsailed the ship he commanded, the Hornet, and that he stood little chance of making any prize, he adopted a method of enticing them under his guns. While at sea, he took out his mizen-mast, and otherwise disguised the Hornet, to make her appear of less force. This had the desired effect: he was soon after discovered by one of those marauders, who pursued him with a confidence of success, and was allowed to come along side before any attempt was made upon him, or to undeceive him. Having brought him into a situation from which he could not escape, the guns of the Hornet were opened, and an action ensued, which soon terminated in the submission of the enemy. Whilst on this station Captain Johnstone rendered a most important service to the country. Having learned that the court of Spain had declared war against England, he immediately fitted out a small vessel, and dispatched her to the West Indies, where she arrived six weeks before similar information was received from England, and which enabled Admiral Rodney to make many prizes, hindered the Spanish authorities from receiving any advice of hostilities, and thereby prevented them from putting their different stations in a proper state of defence. To this circumstance the reduction of the Havannah by Sir George Pocock has been attributed.

On the 11th August, 1762, Captain Johnstone was advanced to post-rank, and appointed to the Hind of 20 guns; but this command he held only for a short time, having removed into the Wager in the month of December. After the cessation of hostilities, he was appointed governor of Pensacola; but there is nothing particular recorded of him during the time he held that appointment. On his return he was elected M. P. for Cockermouth, and distinguished himself much by his speeches in the House of Commons with regard to the affairs of America: he took an active and liberal part, recommending just and pacific measures; but the warmth of his temper frequently got the better of his judgment, and drew him into situations from which it was difficult for him to recede with honour; and on one occasion he was obliged to fight a duel with Lord George Germaine.

In 1778, he was one of the commissioners sent out to America, in hopes of conciliating the colonists, and amicably settling the disputes between

them and the mother country. But on their arrival, they met with difficulties and obstacles which were insurmountable: the colonists had now tasted the sweets of independence; it had already cost them too much blood and treasure to sign it away on a piece of parchment. They therefore declared, that the only conditions upon which they would enter into any negociation were, an acknowledgment of independence, or a total withdrawing of the British military force. These were terms which the commissioners were of course not empowered to grant; but Captain Johnstone, who, during the time he was governor of Pensacola, had formed a considerable and extensive connection with several of the leading men in the country, now hoped that this circumstance might be turned to the most beneficial account, and facilitate the attainment of the object he had in view. He therefore opened a correspondence with several members of Congress, and other persons of consideration, touching the object of the commissioners, hoping to attain through their influence what could not be obtained through the medium of the Congress. In a letter to General Read he said, "My feeble voice has not been wanting to stop the evils in their progress, and to remove on a large and liberal footing the cause of all jealousy: that every subject of the empire might live equally free and secure in the enjoyment of the blessings of life; not one part dependent on the will of another, with opposite interests, but a general union, in terms of perfect security and mutual advantage." But this secret correspondence coming to the knowledge of Congress, that body came to the resolution of not holding any manner of correspondence with Captain Johnstone, especially to negociate with him upon affairs in which the cause of liberty and virtue were interested. He was consequently compelled to withdraw himself from the diplomatic commission, and whilst he continued in America, to act as a private individual. This naturally excited the warmth of his disposition; and in a letter which he published, he gave vent to his feelings, from which it would appear there was much reason to doubt his former professions. Those persons and that body which he had held up as examples of virtue and patriotism to all mankind, and whose names were equal to those most celebrated in history, were now described as being destitute of any virtue, and were charged with being the betrayers of their country, with acting directly contrary to the sense of the people in general, of sacrificing their dearest interests to the most unworthy motives, and of leading them blindfold to irretrievable ruin. Whatever causes of complaint Captain Johnstone

might have entertained for the treatment he experienced at the hands of Congress, whatever feelings he might have had, this violent declaration of his sentiments only proved his unfitness for his situation; that he was actuated by passion and resentment, rather than by reason and a sincere desire to conciliate the minds of the Americans, and an anxiety to amicably terminate the unfortunate dispute which existed between them and the British government. He ever afterwards made it a personal quarrel, and on his return to England, recommended and justified the most sanguinary methods of warfare—a war of desolation: he declared that no mercy ought to be shewn to the members of Congress; and that if the *infernals* could be employed against them, he should approve of the measure. In a violent speech in Parliament, he also arraigned the conduct of Lord Howe whilst in presence of Count d'Estaing on the coast of America; but with what reason we have already shewn*. Many, however, were astonished at the theoretical knowledge he displayed; and even members of the profession were led away with the plausibility of his reasoning, and the apparent earnestness with which he advocated his doctrine. But the result proved the erroneousness of the opinions which he broached; that they were incapable of practice, or that he had not nerve or capacity to carry them into execution.

It is in some degree an unfortunate circumstance that naval officers are allowed to sit as members of Parliament. If they take the side of ministers, any station to which they may be subsequently promoted is attributed to the worst motives, as a reward for parliamentary services, rather than an acknowledgment of their professional abilities; and if they take the side of the opposition, if they arraign the conduct of the government, if they inveigh against corruption and peculation, and should still receive any professional employment, their appointment is immediately attributed to the truth of their assertions, and that it is considered advisable to send them to a foreign station, to get them out of the way. With regard to the instance before us, there is some doubt as to what motive we are to attribute the appointments which he subsequently received; but we are inclined to think, that the ministers really found him a troublesome, if not a dangerous member. Previous to his going to America, he advised mild and pacific measures, to allay the spirit of irritation which existed there; but after his return, he became the most loud and violent promoter of harshness and cruelty—of scalping and exter-

* See *Memoir of Earl* Howe.

mination. When the ministers were loudly and generally blamed for the violence and cruelty of their proceedings, and they endeavoured to palliate and soften the meaning of their acts, he directly contradicted them, declared they bore no other meaning than what the opposition had put upon them, that they were just and proper, and, as we have said before, if the *infernals* could be employed, he should approve of the measure. Such a declaration from one who might be considered as belonging to their own body, who had been officially employed by them, and who was acquainted with their secret proceedings, might have rendered them apprehensive of some farther exposure, and induced them to appoint him to the command off Lisbon, with the rank of commodore. He sailed for that destination in the beginning of November 1779, on board the Romney of 50 guns, having the Tartar of 28 guns and the Rattlesnake sloop in company. On the 11th they fell in with the Santa Margaretta Spanish frigate, which was captured by the two latter vessels, without the smallest assistance from the Romney. After his arrival at Lisbon, he remained on shore during the whole of the year 1780*, without performing any active efficient service, except sending information to Admiral Rodney of the sailing and destination of the Spanish fleet†. His cruisers, however, were not idle, having captured the Artois of 44 guns, which was considered one of the finest vessels ever built, and the Perle of 18 guns. The commodore returned from this station the latter end of the year; but in the beginning of the following (1781), he was appointed on a secret expedition against the Cape of Good Hope. Hostilities having commenced between Great Britain and Holland, the British ministry exerted themselves to reduce effectually the power of their new opponent; and considered the readiest way to effect that object was by attacking their foreign settlements, which, it was expected, were not sufficiently prepared to resist any sudden or vigorous attempt. But the French government, to induce the Dutch to take part with them in the war against England, had promised to protect her distant settlements; and hearing of the armament preparing under Commodore Johnstone, immediately fitted out one under a most distinguished officer, M. Suffrein, for the avowed purpose of counteracting its effects. The commodore sailed from Spithead on the 13th March, and arrived in Porto Praya road, after a short and successful passage. The French admiral sailed from Brest on the 20th of the same month; but although the commodore

* Mr. Charnock erroneously states 1781. † See *Memoir of Lord* Rodney.

knew he was about to follow him, on his arrival at St. Jago he threw off all precaution, and so little did he think of the approach of an enemy, that numbers of the men were sent on shore for wood and water, and others allowed to go for relaxation or curiosity. The decks of the ships were lumbered with empty casks, and the rigging of several was being overhauled. In this unprepared and disordered state they were surprised on the 16th April by the appearance of the squadron under M. Suffrein. The Isis was the first to discover the enemy coming round the point which forms the eastern angle of the entrance of the harbour. The alarm being given, signals for unmooring, for recalling those on shore, and to prepare for action, were speedily made. But the French ships were all clear for action, and were soon in the midst of the British squadron, firing on both sides as they passed. M. Suffrein led the way, and himself with two others dropped along side the Hero, Monmouth, and Jupiter; while two other line-of-battle-ships ranged along the harbour, directing their fire where it would do most execution. In this manner the attack continued for about an hour, and notwithstanding the British squadron was completely taken by surprise, it stood the attack with a coolness and resolution which equally astonished and perplexed the enemy, as they had promised themselves an easy victory from the confined and irregular manner in which they found their opponents; but the gallantry and steadiness of the officers and men under the commodore's orders frustrated the attempt of the enemy, and prevented the destruction of the British squadron. One of the French ships at anchor having lost her captain, the crew cut her cable, and she quitted her station. M. Suffrein finding his situation too hot, sheered off in the same way; and the third, after losing all her masts, was towed off in a most shattered condition. After a considerable lapse of time, they were pursued in their retreat by the commodore with some of his ships; but others being delayed by their damages, and having a valuable convoy of ships for India under his charge, he judged it most proper to return for their protection, having first recaptured the Infernal fire-ship and an Indiaman which the enemy had carried out with them. Thus terminated this strangely conducted, irregular, and confused action. The Romney, from her situation, had but little share in it; but the commodore quitted her in the early part of the conflict, and repaired on board the Hero, which kept up a brisk and well-directed fire; as did also the Monmouth, Captain Alms, the Jupiter, Captain Pasley, and the Isis, Captain Sutton.

Although the officers and men in general of the British squadron were loudly praised for the extraordinary degree of steadiness and courage they displayed upon this emergency, the commodore was greatly censured for his want of foresight, and for the disposition of his squadron: that notwithstanding he was perfectly well informed that a French force was fitted out for the express purpose of attacking him wherever he should be found, he totally neglected the first precautions every prudent man, well knowing his profession, ought to have taken in time of war, even though he had not apprehended an enemy in actual pursuit of him: that instead of mooring his ships "according to the most obvious and natural arrangement for defence, the largest ships outwards, in compact order, with their broadsides to seaward, they were anchored very confusedly, and without the smallest attention to order; whilst the India ships, the transports, and others of inferior force, were strangely intermixed with the larger ships of war, and seemed rather to impede than aid their exertions*."

* At page 101, we have stated the new system of naval tactics which the commodore introduced, and the strictures he passed upon the conduct of Lord Howe. Upon the receipt of the intelligence of the above conflict, the friends of his lordship immediately retorted the charges which he had brought against him, by comparing his conduct with that of his lordship, and trying it upon his own system.

"The Hero of 74 was to be a match for the Heros of 74.
The Monmouth of 64, for the Artesien of 64.
The Romney of 50 and Diana of 36, for the Annibal of 74.
The Jupiter of 50 and Active of 32, for the Sphynx of 64.
The Isis of 50 and Manilla of 20, for the Vengeur of 64.
The Oporto of 16, for the Fortune of 16.

"So far the two squadrons, according to the commodore's principles, were equal: but what will his advocates say when we add the immense superiority which the remaining part of his squadron must have given him? for he had besides, the Jason of 32 guns, the Carlos of 28, the Royal Charlotte of 24, the Porpoise of 24, the Pondicherry of 24, the Resolution of 20, the Lord Townshend of 20, the Terror bomb of 10, the Infernal fire-ship of 8, thirteen East Indiamen of 26 guns each, and twelve armed transports at least with 6 guns a transport. These last can surely be taken into the collected force with much more justice than Lord Howe's row-gallies with a single gun in their prow; and for the tender with which his lordship is charged on account, we find one in the commodore's list also.

"Thus we see, that deducting the ships with which he should have matched the enemy's whole squadron, he had a spare force of no less than 600 guns, that is 244 guns more than the whole strength he had to contend with. With this spare force alone, even if he had no other, he stood engaged to his country, by his own doctrines and declarations, to defeat the whole French armament. In his attack upon Lord Howe, he declared it to

The conduct of the French admiral was also arraigned; and it was said, that if he had displayed the same degree of skill and spirit which he afterwards evinced in his combats with Sir Edward Hughes, the capture or destruction of the greater part of the British squadron was more than probable: but he depended too much upon the advantages of a surprise; he went into action with a confidence of success, as if he had to encounter a weak and irresolute enemy, rather than one who was bold and formidable in all situations.

On the return of the commodore to St. Jago, he put Captain Sutton of the Isis under arrest, for not having obeyed more readily the signal to unmoor and pursue the enemy*: a mere excuse for his own want of resolution, and that zeal and alacrity for the service which prompt men to risk every thing for the accomplishment of their object. He might

have been his opinion, that even before his lordship had been joined by the Cornwall of 74 guns, the Raisonable of 64, the Renown of 50, and the Centurion of 50, he was fully capable, *with a proper disposition of his force*, of defending the harbour, though not of going out and giving the enemy battle: yet Lord Howe's whole force at that time, counting every gun he could bring to bear, of whatever weight, or whatever point, did not surpass the number of the enemy's weighty guns. Was not the commodore's situation at St. Jago equally favourable? Should not then his spare force alone, as it gave him a superiority of 244 guns, have enabled him, *with a proper disposition*, to have defended the harbour? And if this be true, as, on his own principle, it cannot be controverted, how will he answer to his country for not having, with his whole force combined, sunk, taken, or destroyed the whole squadron that had so madly attacked him? After this, shall we be told that the *gallant* commodore has realized his system? How has he realized it? According to him, Lord Howe with six sail of 64-gun-ships, three of 50, two of 40, with some frigates and sloops, for the most part wretchedly manned, was fully capable of defending himself, with a proper disposition, against a 90-gun-ship, an 80, six 74's, three 64's, a 50, and three frigates mounting 36 guns each. But did the commodore even do so much with a superiority of 600 guns, and so small a comparative disproportion even in weight of metal? Certainly not: the British flag was insulted by the capture of a king's ship, some of the convoy were taken and carried out to sea. The trial therefore of that part of his system which regards the defence of the harbour, condemns him. What other part of it he realized, the nation has yet to learn. Did he engage the enemy in line or in open sea? Did he support his 50's with his frigates, and try their united strength with the heavy ships of the enemy? He might indeed have done it. In the situation the French squadron put to sea, he might, on every system, have done it with a certainty of victory; but he shrunk from the trial, and by that means lost a glorious opportunity of destroying the fleet of France."

* The Isis received considerable damage in the action; joined to which, when Captain Sutton ordered the cable to be cut, the nippers were forgot to be taken off, and these with the messenger jammed in the hawse, and occasioned the delay.

have pursued the enemy with the remainder of his fleet, without waiting for the Isis. One of the enemy's ships was totally dismasted; she got out of the harbour with the greatest difficulty; and yet not even a frigate was sent in pursuit, because the Isis was not in a condition to follow immediately.

The squadron having been refitted, the commodore left St. Jago for the prosecution of his original plan, and dispatched Captain Pigot with two or three fast-sailing frigates to obtain some information of the enemy's squadron. In the prosecution of this service he captured a Dutch East India ship, with a valuable cargo of stores and about 40,000*l.* in money. But the information she conveyed was still more important. By her was learnt, that M. Suffrein had arrived in False Bay, and that five Dutch Indiamen were lying in Saldana Bay. Seeing the improbability of attacking the Cape with any prospect of success, after being thus informed, the commodore determined on attacking the Indiamen. On this occasion, he took upon himself the pilotage of the squadron, and ran in shore under cover of the night. The weather was very foggy, and continued so till the morning of the 21st July*, when he ran in amongst the Dutchmen, who cut their cables, ran their ships on shore, and set them on fire, just as the Romney let go her anchor; but the boats from the squadron boarded them so quickly, and the men behaved so gallantly, that the flames were soon extinguished in all but one, which soon after blew up. The rest were got off, and the next day were rigged and ready for sea. Having dispatched three sail of the line and some smaller vessels, with the convoy and transports, to the East Indies, the commodore and remainder of the squadron returned to England. Thus terminated this inglorious but lucrative expedition†. The commodore now resumed his

* Mr. Beatson erroneously says "21st June."

† Captain Brenton, in noticing this expedition, and the conduct of the commodore, has certainly fallen into one or two mistakes. He says, first, that the expedition sailed from England in 1782; but it was the preceding year. (Mr. Charnock has also committed the same error). And after the capture of the Dutch ships at the Cape, he sends the squadron "to the East Indies, *where the commodore* applied to Sir Edward Hughes, the commander-in-chief on that station, for a court-martial to try Captain Sutton." Had the commodore pursued this course, we doubt whether he would have heard any thing more of it. He sent Captain Sutton there a prisoner on board his own ship, but himself returned to England; and as the offence charged did not take place within the limits of Sir Edward's command, he might as well have been sent to the West Indies, or any other part of the world. Sir Edward would, therefore, not take cognizance of it, but sent

duty in Parliament, and again rendered himself conspicuous by an attack upon Lord Howe for his conduct in the action with the French and Spanish fleets off Gibraltar. "He conducted himself with his accustomed virulence; but his attempt met with no better success than his preceding one of the same nature had done. It was smiled at, neglected, and forgotten."

At his decease, which occurred May 24, 1787, he left one son, by Miss Dee, to whom he was married in 1782.

him to England, where he was tried in December 1783; and as the commodore did not substantiate his charges, Captain Sutton was honourably acquitted. In the following year he brought an action in the Court of Exchequer against the commodore, for maliciously charging him with an offence of which he was not guilty, and for aggravating that measure by sending him to the East Indies, instead of bringing him to trial on the spot. Captain Sutton obtained a verdict for 5000*l.* The commodore obtained a new trial; but a second verdict gave 6000*l.* damages. In 1785, the commodore applied for an arrest of judgment, which, being argued before the Barons of the Exchequer, was discharged. He then brought in a writ of error, which was argued before the Earl of Mansfield, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Lord Loughborough, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, when their lordships decided in favour of the commodore, and that the judgments in the Court of Exchequer ought to be reversed. Captain Sutton then brought it into the House of Peers, who *affirmed* the decision of those noble lords by the following sentence: "It is ordered and adjudged by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, that the judgment given in the Council Chamber, *reversing a judgment given in the Court of Exchequer*, be, and the same is hereby affirmed."—*Journal of the House of Lords*, 1787. Mr. Charnock and Captain Brenton are therefore wrong in stating, that the decision was in favour of Captain Sutton.

Captain Sutton recovered from Captain Lumley (who had been appointed by the commodore to supersede him) all the prize-money to which he was entitled as acting-captain of the Isis whilst Captain Sutton was under arrest.—Schomberg.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE BOWYER, BART.

THE family of Bowyer resided and had property in the county of Staffordshire in the reign of Richard II. a younger branch of whom settled in Sussex during the reign of Henry IV. a descendant of whom became sheriff and alderman of London in the reign of Elizabeth. The eldest son of that gentleman was knighted by James I. and was also one of the tellers of the Exchequer to that monarch. Having purchased the estate of Denham in Buckinghamshire, it has ever since belonged to the family, and was the birthplace of the subject of this Memoir, who was the third son of Sir William Bowyer*, the third baronet, and succeeded to the title on the death of his brother in April 1797; but though he possessed this title by lineal descent, he previously acquired one for himself by the most gallant services in the cause of his country. With his education, the early tendency of his mind, and the period at which he first went to sea, as well as his early services, we are unacquainted. He was appointed a lieutenant on the 13th February, 1758, when about eighteen years of age. He was advanced to the rank of master and commander on the 4th May, 1761, and to that of post-captain October 28, 1762. As these appointments followed each other very closely, without the performance of any commensurate service, at least that we have been able to discover, we fear that family interest greatly accelerated them. It must, however, be confessed, that they were not conferred on an unworthy object, and that he subsequently fully proved himself deserving of this early distinction.

His first ship was the Sheerness of 20 guns; but after quitting that command, he held no farther appointment of consequence till after the commencement of the dispute with America in 1775. He was then appointed to the Burford of 70 guns, which he commanded till 1778, when he removed to the Albion of 74 guns, and shortly after proceeded to North America with Admiral Byron, and, at the close of the year, accompanied him to the West Indies, where he remained till the end of

* Sir William married Ann, daughter of Sir John Stonhouse of Radley, in Berkshire, which estate descended in 1792 to Admiral Sir George Bowyer.

1781: he consequently became concerned in all the actions which took place in that quarter during that period; he distinguished himself by his diligence, activity, and gallantry on all occasions, and drew from the commanders under whom he served the warmest commendations. It was on the 6th July, 1779, that Captain Bowyer, we believe, first stood fire, and throughout the whole of that arduous day he conducted himself with great coolness and perseverance. During the attack on the French squadron in Fort Royal Bay, Admiral Parker particularly praised the ardour and zeal he evinced in endeavouring to support the Conqueror. In the action which took place with De Guichen in April following, Captain Bowyer was stationed as second to Rear-Admiral Parker, who commanded the van division, and was alike distinguished for valour and good judgment. In the actions of the 15th and 19th May, his conduct excited in the highest degree the attention of Sir George Rodney, who bore ample testimony of his zeal and ability, styling him the good and gallant Captain Bowyer. But in supporting the honour of his country's flag with the true energy of a British sailor, the Albion suffered severely: on the 15th she had 12 men killed and 62 wounded; and on the 19th, 12 killed and 61 wounded. After repairing the damages sustained in these actions, the Albion was ordered to Jamaica, to reinforce the squadron on that station; and in the following year, 1781, proceeded with a convoy to England, where, on her arrival, she was found in such a disabled state, that she was put out of commission. Captain Bowyer did not receive any other commission during the war, but after its cessation was appointed to the Irresistible of 74 guns, stationed in the Medway, with the rank of commodore.

At the general election in 1784, he was chosen M. P. for Queenborough; and in 1787, he was made a colonel of marines. After quitting the Irresistible, the command of which he held for only two years, he had no other appointment till 1790, when, on the idea that a war with Spain was more than probable, he was appointed to the Boyne of 98 guns: the storm, however, disappearing, the Boyne was, with others, put out of commission. From this period it does not appear that Captain Bowyer was again employed as a private captain; but on the 1st February, 1793, as a new war had broken out with France, he was raised to the rank of rear-admiral of the White, hoisted his flag on board the Prince of 98 guns, and was soon afterwards appointed to a command in the Channel fleet, under Earl Howe.

In recording the services of those gallant men whose actions and conduct are the subject of this work, we are frequently obliged to recur to the same action and to those glorious scenes which have before been the subjects of our remarks. Without entering into the particulars, we shall here briefly state, that on the 1st June, 1794, when Lord Howe achieved that important victory over the French fleet, a victory which will be long remembered by Britons with satisfaction and delight, and by the French nation with regret and mortification, Admiral Bowyer displayed the utmost presence of mind, the utmost activity, combined with that zeal and courage which had ever distinguished his conduct. But in sharing in the lasting renown of that glorious day, and in supporting the honour of the British flag, it was Admiral Bowyer's lot to lose a leg. In consequence of this accident he of course became incapacitated from undertaking any active service, and his country was consequently deprived of his farther services. The gallantry, however, which he had displayed, was most justly rewarded with the applause of his country and the favour of his sovereign. He was created a baronet of Great Britain, received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, together with 1000*l.* a year, as some remuneration for the bodily injury he had sustained, and a gold chain and medal, to commemorate the victory. He was also presented with a pair of elegant goblets, valued at 500 guineas, by the committee for conducting the subscription for the relief of the wounded. On the 4th July, he was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral of the Blue; and on the 14th February, 1799, he was made admiral of the same flag.

Sir George married Henrietta, only daughter of Sir Percy Brett, Knight, admiral of the White, by whom he had three sons and two daughters. He died at Radley, December 6, 1800.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL SIR HYDE PARKER, BART.

IT is a particular pleasure to record the services of those officers who, joined to their own worth, have hereditary claims to attention. This gentleman was the son of Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, Bart. a Memoir of whose long and valuable services we have already inserted. As the father possessed a strong and natural predilection in favour of a naval life, and by skill, diligence, and activity acquired a well-merited renown, it is no wonder that he educated his son in the same gallant profession; nor that the son, having so bright an example before him, should have equalled the renown of the father. He was born in the year 1739, and went to sea with his father at a very early age. He served with him in the Lively, Squirrel, and Brilliant, as a midshipman; and being promoted to a lieutenancy on the 25th January, 1758, he remained in the Brilliant till his father was appointed to the Norfolk of 74 guns, when he removed to that ship, and sailed with him to the East Indies, where he served progressively in the Grafton and Panther. He participated with him in the services there performed, particularly in the expedition against the Manillas, and the capture of the Acapulco ship. Thus early initiated into the duties and perils of his profession, and emulating the glory of his parent and commander, he is said to have soon become so perfect in those studies attached to his pursuit, that his advancement in rank might be most strictly considered as resulting from his natural merit and abilities. Having passed very rapidly through the rank of commander, he was appointed a post-captain July 18, 1763; but in consequence of a cessation of hostilities, remained inactive till 1770, when he was appointed to the Boston of 32 guns* for a short time; but the dispute with the American colonies having assumed a serious and alarming appearance, he was appointed to the Phœnix of 44 guns, and proceeding to that station in 1775, had an early opportunity of conspicuously distinguishing himself. Preparations having been made by Lord Howe for a descent on Long Island, Captain Parker was detached up the North River, with the Phœnix, Rose, and Trial, to reconnoitre the enemy's works on that side.

* Beatson.

Having performed this service to the entire satisfaction of his lordship, he was directed to cover the landing of the troops. At the attack of New-York, Captain Parker was again actively employed. In order to prevent the enemy from receiving supplies up the North River, as well as to force a passage above the American works at Jeffries Hook on York Island, between which and the opposite shore of New Jersey they had made attempts to impede and block up the channel of the river, by sinking several vessels and frames constructed for the purpose; and also by stationing several gallies, which drew very little water, though some of them carried a 32-pounder, in such positions that they could annoy any ship that approached, without running much risk of injury; it became necessary to detach a force for that purpose, and Captain Parker, having the Roebuck and Tartar under his orders, was directed to proceed thither. In passing the enemy's works, his little squadron suffered severely in their masts and rigging, and also had several men killed and wounded; but his skill, activity, and gallantry were such as to overcome every obstacle opposed to him: two of their gallies were captured, and the others obliged to seek safety in shoal water and under protection of their batteries ashore. During the year 1777 Captain Parker does not appear to have been particularly engaged, except in the expedition against Philadelphia; but that was on service in which he was not fortunate enough to meet with any occurrence which could raise him above his fellows. In the following year he was with Lord Howe at New-York, when he was blockaded by the French fleet, proceeded with him to Rhode Island, and subsequently to Boston, in quest of the enemy. An attack upon the province of Georgia holding out great advantages, as it abounded in rice and other articles which were much wanted in the British army, a large detachment was sent from the army at New-York under Colonel Campbell, whilst the command of the naval force was conferred on Commodore Parker; and though, in consequence of storms and contrary winds, the fleet was much delayed in reaching its place of destination, yet on its arrival the defeat of the enemy's land forces and the reduction of the whole colony immediately followed. On this success of the expedition, many of the inhabitants joined the British forces, and declared in their favour. They resorted in such numbers to their camp, that Colonel Campbell formed them into companies of horse and foot, and employed them in different services. The colonel and commodore were therefore of opinion that it might be a favourable opportunity to invite

the inhabitants to return to their allegiance under the British government. This persuasion was justified by the event. A proclamation was published, and the rebel inhabitants flocked to the king's standard, took the oaths, and embraced the offers made to them. Having accomplished this desirable object, the commodore found it necessary to return to Europe, in order to give the Phœnix those repairs she stood so much in need of, and without which she was of no farther use. He therefore returned to England in the spring of 1779. The zeal, activity, and address which he had displayed throughout the whole of his services in America, procured him the favour of his sovereign, who, on the 21st April, conferred upon him the honour of knighthood. The Phœnix having been repaired, Captain Parker was again appointed to command her, and for a short time served under Sir C. Hardy in the Channel. Towards the end of the year he was ordered to Jamaica with a valuable convoy. He conducted his charge to their destination without the smallest accident, and continued on the station till the month of October 1780, without being able to make any addition to that reputation which he had acquired; but he encountered difficulties and disasters far more formidable than any he had ever experienced from the enemies of his country. He was unfortunately involved in the dreadful consequences of that convulsion of nature, a hurricane, which nearly desolated that part of the world; and he suffered shipwreck, October 4, on the Island of Cuba, about three leagues to the eastward of Cape Cruz. All the ship's company were happily saved, except twenty, who were washed overboard with the main-mast. The conduct of Sir Hyde Parker on this melancholy and distressing occasion was exemplary in the highest degree, to whose care and exertions the crew were indebted for their lives. Having, by great exertions of the whole company, procured a sufficient quantity of provision, some ammunition, and four carronades from the wreck, he took post on a favourable spot, to prevent any surprise from the enemy, and repel any assault that might be made upon him. The first lieutenant was dispatched in one of the boats to Montego Bay for assistance; and by the 11th, the remainder of the crew, consisting of about 240 persons, were embarked in vessels which he procured for that purpose.

As usual, a court-martial was held upon Captain Parker for the loss of his ship, who was most honourably acquitted. Soon after this event he returned to England, and was almost immediately afterwards appointed

to the Latona of 38 guns, and sent to join a squadron, then under the command of his father, in the North Sea, for the protection of the English commerce against the depredations of the Dutch, who, led away by present interest and the hope of future gain, but against her real interests, ranged herself amongst the enemies of Britain. In the ensuing action Sir Hyde was not engaged, but immediately after it ceased, he bore down to the flag-ship to inquire for his parent, who, in person, assured him of his safety, but lamented his inability to pursue the advantage he had gained. On the return of the squadron to England, Sir Hyde was introduced to his Majesty, and was afterwards appointed to the Goliah of 74 guns, and sailed with Admiral Barrington to intercept the enemy's squadron from Brest, bound to the East Indies; on which occasion the Pegase of 74, Actionaire of 64, and several transports, were captured. He was subsequently placed under the orders of Lord Howe, and accompanied him to the relief of Gibraltar. That object having been obtained in a manner which reflected the highest honour on the British navy, his lordship repassed the Straits, followed, at a respectful distance, by the enemy. On this occasion, Sir Hyde had the honour to lead the van division, and in the action which ensued he was most materially engaged, having had 20 men killed and wounded. Notwithstanding the boasts and predictions of the enemy as to the ease with which they should annihilate the maritime power of Britain, and cause the decline and fall of the British empire, the event proved, that they had not only miscalculated the strength and power of their opponent, but also their own resources, and finding that they began to fail them, whilst those of England appeared fresh and vigorous, they began seriously to entertain notions of peace; and on the 20th January, 1783, preliminaries having been signed, a termination was put to hostilities. The Goliah, however, being ordered to remain in commission as a guard-ship, Sir Hyde continued to command her for three years. Several ships having been ordered to be equipped in 1787, Captain Parker was appointed to the Orion of 74 guns. But this cloud having passed away, the Orion was put out of commission, and Captain Parker did not receive any other command till 1790, when he was appointed to the Brunswick. The dispute which then existed having, like the preceding, been amicably arranged, he again retired into private life; but in the course of the year he received the honourable appointment of colonel of marines. On the 1st February, 1793, he was advanced to the rank of a flag-officer, being

appointed rear-admiral of the White, and shortly afterwards nominated first captain to Lord Hood, commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean. Few periods more important or momentous than the one to which we allude are to be found in English history, and none which required greater caution, judgment, and decision in those who commanded her naval forces; and the important station to which Sir Hyde was appointed, sufficiently proves the high estimation in which his talents and abilities were held. The important events which occurred on that station, the occupation of Toulon, the reduction of Corsica, the assistance rendered to the allies of Britain, and the action which took place on the 14th March, 1795, the particulars of which we have related in the Memoirs of Lords Hood and Hotham; in all these events Sir Hyde Parker participated, both by his advice and personal assistance, and throughout manifested great zeal and judgment. On the 4th July, 1794, he was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral of the Blue, and quitting the station of captain of the fleet, hoisted his flag on board the St. George of 98 guns, in which ship he continued till 1796, when he returned to England; but not to enjoy repose, or to retire from the fatigues of the service, being almost immediately afterwards directed to take the chief command on the Jamaica station. He continued on that station for the usual period of three years, and though nothing of any particular consequence occurred during that period, though no islands were subdued or fleets engaged, his command was distinguished by the capture or destruction of an unprecedented number of ships of war, privateers, and merchantmen, by which both himself and his country were materially benefited.

Having returned from this station, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the Channel fleet. But from thence he was recalled in the beginning of 1801, to command one of the most important expeditions that had ever sailed from the shores of Britain, which terminated in one of the most glorious victories that the valour and skill of the British navy ever achieved, and the overthrow of that daring confederacy which was formed for the express purpose of annihilating her maritime power and pre-eminence. A repetition of that armed neutrality which was first formed during the American war now shewed itself in double force, their united navies amounting to upwards of one hundred sail of the line. Such a combination would at all times be formidable, but when directed by the influence of France and the genius of Buonaparte, it required the utmost vigilance to thwart their designs, and the greatest

promptitude and courage to defeat and scatter so powerful a confederacy. But these were qualities happily found in the British ministry and naval heroes. Earl St. Vincent was at that time First Lord of the Admiralty, who immediately took the most vigorous and decisive measures to crush it. A fleet of seventeen sail of the line was prepared with the utmost expedition, every requisite was attached to it, and the command given to Sir Hyde Parker, who had under him Lord Nelson and Rear-Admiral Graves. Mr. Vansittart, in a flag of truce, preceded the sailing of the fleet, with an ultimatum to the court of Denmark, in hopes of separating her from the alliance; but the terms were rejected. On the arrival of the fleet in the Cattegat, Admiral Parker dispatched a letter to the governor of Cronenberg castle, in which, after mentioning the hostile conduct of Denmark, demanded to know whether he had received orders to fire on the British fleet as they passed into the Sound, as he must consider the firing of the first gun a declaration of war. To which the governor replied, that he was not at liberty to suffer a fleet, whose intentions were not known, to approach the guns of the castle. This being considered sufficiently hostile, Sir Hyde apprised the governor that he should commence hostilities, and resolved to pass into the Sound. But the boisterous state of the wind prevented the fleet from proceeding till the 30th March, when it became moderate, and the necessary measures were taken for that purpose; and in about four hours the whole triumphantly passed the celebrated key of the Baltic, without receiving the smallest injury, though fired at by all the Danish artillery that could be brought to bear: those on the Swedish coast remained silent. As soon as the whole had passed the batteries, they were brought to an anchor within five or six miles of the Isle of Huin; and Sir Hyde, accompanied by Lord Nelson and Rear-Admiral Graves, embarked on board a cutter to reconnoitre the formidable lines of defence which the enemy had constructed, and which consisted of six sail of the line and eleven floating batteries, mounting on one side from 26 24-pounders to 18 18-pounders, with bombs and gun-vessels; the whole of which were flanked and supported by extensive batteries on the two islands called the Crowns, the largest of which mounted 60 cannon, and which were again commanded by two ships of 70 guns and a large frigate in the inner road of Copenhagen, and two ships of 64 guns, without masts, were moored on the starboard side of the entrance into the arsenal; the whole forming such a mass of strength as to be considered capable of resisting almost any force that could be brought against it. Anxious that the object of the

expedition should not be baffled by any want of knowledge of the force with which they had to contend, and of duly estimating their strength and position, Sir Hyde Parker, Lord Nelson, and Admiral Graves, on the following day, again reconnoitred the enemy's line, after which the mode of attack was fully resolved on; and as the wind blew from the southward, it was also determined that it should take place from that quarter. Lord Nelson having, with his usual zeal and ardour, volunteered his services to carry into effect that desperate effort, Sir Hyde Parker committed to him the necessary directions. But as these more particularly relate to his lordship's services, we shall abstain from entering into them here, merely observing, that the whole line of defence was destroyed, and terminated in an armistice with Denmark.

For this highly important victory Sir Hyde Parker, Lord Nelson, and all others employed in the fleet, received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament. Immediately after signing the convention, Sir Hyde Parker proceeded into the Baltic with such ships as had not been in action, in order to carry into effect the remainder of his instructions. Having passed through the intricate and narrow channel called the Grounds, he received intelligence that a squadron of Swedish ships had put to sea, with the intention of joining the Russian fleet at Revel: he accordingly shaped his course for the Island of Bornholm; but the Swedish admiral, hearing of his approach, retired into Carlscrona. On the arrival of Sir Hyde, he perceived the enemy's squadron moored in a line, under the protection of the batteries on shore, and immediately dispatched a flag of truce, to acquaint the Swedish admiral of the proceedings at Copenhagen, and to request a declaration from the Swedish court, relative to the measures it was intended to pursue against the rights and interests of Great Britain; which terminating in assurances of a pacific nature, the British admiral directed his course to the gulf of Finland; but ere he reached it, he received information of the death of the Emperor Paul of Russia, and of the peaceable disposition of his successor. Having thus successfully conducted the expedition to its close, and, in conjunction with Nelson, achieved every object for which it was formed, during which he displayed his wonted ability and prudence, he resigned the command to Lord Nelson, and returned to England in the month of May. He ever afterwards lived a private life.

He died March 16, 1807. Sir Hyde was twice married: first to Anne, daughter of J. Palmer Boteler, Esq. by whom he had three sons; and secondly to a daughter of Admiral Sir R. Onslow.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL SIR BENJAMIN CALDWELL, G.C.B.

IT appears, from the best accounts that have been published of this gentleman's services, that his family originally came from Scotland; that one branch of it passed over into Ireland, and subsequently settled in Liverpool; that being destined for the naval service, he received part of his education at the Royal Academy at Portsmouth, and that he went to sea in 1756, on board the Isis, Captain Wheeler. In the capacity of a midshipman he served with Admiral Boscawen in his action with De la Clue; and was also in that between Sir Edward Hawke and Conflans. Having passed his probationary years of service with considerable reputation, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant on the 20th March, 1760, and embarked, as one of the lieutenants to Captain Barrington, on board the Achilles. On the 24th May, 1762, he was promoted to the rank of commander, and appointed to the Martin sloop, in which he sailed to the coast of Africa; from thence he proceeded to the West Indies, where he remained till the commencement of 1765, when he returned to England, and on the 1st April following, he attained post-rank, in the Milford frigate.

In 1768, he was appointed to the Rose, which he commanded for three years; and in 1775, he was appointed to the Emerald of 32 guns. In this latter vessel he was most actively employed on the coast of America, under Lord Howe; and in 1778, in company with some other vessels, he captured the Virginia frigate of 30 guns. Having returned from this station, he was, in December 1779, appointed to the Hannibal of 50 guns, in which he was employed in convoying a valuable fleet of East India ships as far as St. Helena. In 1781, he was appointed to the Agamemnon, and joined the squadron under Admiral Kempenfelt. After having intercepted the French squadron bound to the East Indies, Captain Caldwell was detached from the fleet, to pick up any vessels that might have separated from the main body; and in the prosecution of this service, he had the good fortune to capture five transports, with valuable cargoes, bound for Martinique.

Having safely brought those vessels into port, he was shortly after

ordered to the West Indies, to reinforce the squadron under Sir George Rodney. It was there that the utmost efforts were making both by France and England to attain the ascendency; it was there that each party looked with the utmost confidence for a completion of their objects; it was there that France confidently expected to annihilate the power of Britain, by destroying her fleet and cutting off the sources of her commerce. It was here that Great Britain looked with the utmost reliance to the efforts of her seamen for a display of those powers, of that courage and discipline which had made her so renowned, had extricated her from many trying difficulties, caused her to be an object of fear and jealousy, and rendered her name illustrious throughout the world; and the result of the contest in which she was now involved, proved that the confidence she placed in this branch of her force was not in vain. Having arrived at this scene of action, it was not long before an opportunity occurred to call forth all those qualities for which the British navy are so distinguished: the enemy left their harbour, were fallen in with by their opponents, and on the 9th and 12th April, days which will ever stand conspicuous in the page of British naval history, were constrained to acknowledge their own inferiority, to lower the lilies of France to the St. George of England, retire from the combat, shorn of their power and humbled in pride, and decline all farther contest in those seas. On those important days the conduct of the Agamemnon was as conspicuous as in any subsequent period of her history: 36 of her crew were killed or wounded, and her gallant commander received the thanks of his country. Preliminaries of peace being signed shortly after, Captain Caldwell returned to England in the spring of the following year, and does not appear to have held any other command till 1790, when he, for a short time, commanded the Berwick of 74 guns.

On the 1st February, 1793, he received the reward due to his merit, by being promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the White, with a command under Earl Howe in the Channel fleet; and though, from all we have heard, his conduct was marked throughout the glorious victory which ensued with great steadiness, though he had 31 men killed and wounded, and though from his long and meritorious services, distinguished as they had been by perseverance and activity, it was impossible to entertain any suspicion of his gallantry or his want of zeal, he was the only flag-officer out of six who was not particularly named by Lord Howe. Undoubtedly a commander-in-chief has the right and power to make

such selections as he thinks proper; and we will go farther and say, it is his duty to point out those whom he considers particularly deserving the notice of his country: but then he should take care that his discrimination be just. If six are engaged, and five only are mentioned, the natural inference is, that the sixth did not do his duty. Whether well or ill founded, a stigma is left on his character, as strongly as if censure had been directly cast upon him. Luckily for Admiral Caldwell, he was not the only officer whom Lord Howe did not point out as being worthy of his particular thanks; and when it is recollected that the gallant Collingwood was omitted, the world will not consider that his lordship made the best use of his discriminating powers, or that Admiral Caldwell deserved to be thus silently passed over. As some consolation for the neglect which he experienced on this occasion, he was ordered to the West Indies, as successor to Sir John Jervis; from which station he returned in the following year.

On the 14th February, 1799, he was advanced to the rank of admiral of the Blue; and in May 1820, he was nominated an extra Grand Cross of the Bath.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL THE HON. SIR W. CORNWALLIS, G.C.B.

OF the family of Cornwallis it is unnecessary to speak here: noble and illustrious for a long series of years, it has given to the world some of its brightest ornaments, and has reflected on the country the most distinguished honour.

Admiral the Hon. Sir William Cornwallis was the son of the fifth Lord and first Earl of Cornwallis, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Viscount Townshend: so that he derived from his birth all the advantages which a powerful family and good connections could confer. He was born February 20, 1744; and as none of the family had been bred to the sea, and as he shewed early indications of that promptitude and decision which marked the whole of his professional career, it was determined that he should be so disposed of. He was accordingly placed at an early age on board the Newark, from which he removed to the Kingston, forming one of the squadron under Admiral Boscawen, to share whatever perils, dangers, or honours should attend the expedition to Louisbourg. Here he had an opportunity of estimating the difficulties of the profession he had adopted, and the fatigue of body and mind which must be necessarily experienced to enable him to attain pre-eminence in it. Having become fully sensible of this truth, and possessing great hardihood and intrepidity, a strong and acute mind, he dedicated himself entirely to the study of, and omitted no opportunity to improve himself in, the theory of his profession, or of perfecting himself by practice, and gave such indications of talent and genius as could not fail to meet with their due reward. Having returned from that expedition, he removed in 1759 to the Dunkirk, commanded by Captain the Hon. R. Digby, and was soon engaged in a scene where he had a farther opportunity for improvement. Captain Digby was placed under the orders of Sir Edward Hawke; and in the defeat of Conflans, our youthful hero displayed his usual steadiness and composure. In the following year the Dunkirk proceeded to the Mediterranean, where young Cornwallis, having attracted the notice of Sir Charles Saunders, was received into the flag-ship, which was the first step to his promotion, being appointed,

on the 5th April, 1761, lieutenant of the Thunderer. Here again there was no want of opportunity to display his character. The Thunderer, with the Modeste and Thetis, being ordered off Cadiz, on the 16th July gave chase to two French ships, which continued till midnight, when the Thunderer came along side the largest, a 64-gun ship, when a sharp and well-contested action took place; in the height of which one of the Thunderer's upper-deck guns burst, blew up a great part of the quarter-deck, and set fire to the ship. In the confusion naturally attending such an occurrence and at such a time, the coolness of Lieutenant Cornwallis was remarkable, and attracted the notice of his gallant captain. The flames having been subdued, the action was renewed with double vigour, and the enemy soon compelled to haul down their colours. The Thunderer suffered severely on this occasion, having had 17 men killed, the captain, two lieutenants, and 111 men wounded; a great part of the latter by the accident above-mentioned. The enemy's second ship surrendered to the Modeste and Thetis. By this action Lieutenant Cornwallis fully established his character for courage and fortitude; and though immediate promotion did not take place, it was not long delayed, as he was appointed to command the Wasp sloop, July 12, 1762. He remained but a short time in that ship, having removed in October to the Swift, which he continued to command till April 1765. But though it was a time of peace, and we have no particular circumstance to relate, still at this period of his life he was considered to possess a high sense of honour, and every principle that a good and valuable officer should have. On the 20th of that month he was advanced to the rank of post-captain, and to command the Prince Edward of 40 guns; which, however, he retained only one year, when she was paid off.

From this statement it will appear, that from his first entrance into the profession to the present time he continued in one uninterrupted series of service; and though he was now "at an age that might have excused a wish to enter into the gaieties and luxuries of the capital, where peace seemed to invite him to repose, and enjoy the elegant society which his rank in life rendered familiar to him, he turned his thoughts on professional improvement alone, and after a short interval of relaxation again applied for employ." He was then appointed to the Guadaloupe of 28 guns, and shortly after proceeded to the Mediterranean with Commodore Spry, where he continued very uninterestingly employed for three years. He then returned to England, but still continued to command the Guadaloupe, and was employed on various services till 1773.

In the following year he was appointed to the Pallas of 36 guns, and having the Weazle sloop in company, sailed to the coast of Africa, where he continued till 1776, when he again returned to England. But still he sought no repose: his active and enterprising disposition, a disposition which was ever on the wing, which prompted him to the greatest exertions in acquiring the experience necessary to qualify him for the important commands to which he aspired, would not suffer him to remain idle; and an event soon occurred, which, however it may be deplored, afforded him those opportunities which he so ardently wished, to display his valour and professional abilities. The dispute with the American colonies having arrived at a point which rendered it necessary to send a squadron of ships thither, and endeavour to reduce them to obedience by force, he was appointed to the Isis of 50 guns, with orders to join Lord Howe in America, and participated with him in the arduous services experienced on that coast. In the attack of Mud Island he highly excited the notice of his lordship, who made the following mention of him in his dispatches: "The Isis being as well placed in the eastern channel as the circumstances of the navigation would permit, rendered very essential service against the fort and gallies, much to the personal honour of Captain Cornwallis, and credit of the discipline of his ship." Shortly after this he returned to England; but the French government having openly espoused the cause of the Americans, and dispatched a fleet thither under D'Estaing, it became necessary to strengthen the British squadron, not only on that station, but in the West Indies. Captain Cornwallis was accordingly appointed to the Lion of 64 guns, and towards the end of 1778, sailed with Admiral Rowley for St. Lucia. Here they formed a junction with Admiral Byron, and in the action which ensued off Grenada, the conduct of the Lion and her gallant captain excited universal admiration. He was one of the first up with the enemy, and though the latter was found greatly superior in numbers, brought them to action, resisted them till the remainder of the squadron came up, and performed prodigies of valour; but, in their turn, suffered severely. The Lion had her main and mizen-top-masts shot away, several shot between wind and water, and 51 of her crew killed or wounded. In this disabled state she was separated by the enemy from the British line, and finding that every effort for regaining her situation proved ineffectual, her captain bore away for Jamaica. In the night he fell in with the Monmouth, Captain Fanshawe, which had likewise been disabled, and ordered to Antigua. As

the ships approached, they mutually considered each other as an enemy sent in chase by the French admiral, and both prepared to make an obstinate defence; but fortunately a friend was found in the supposed foe before a shot was fired.

The junction of Spain and France in support of American independence enabled those powers to acquire such a superiority of force in those seas as justified the most sanguine expectations. The Lion having undergone the necessary repairs, Captain Cornwallis was ordered on a cruise by Sir Peter Parker, taking with him the Bristol of 50 guns and the Janus of 44; and on the 20th March, 1780, fell in with a French squadron, consisting of four ships of 74 guns and one of 36, commanded by M. Piquet. The best preparations were immediately made to receive them, and to resist so unequal a force. Observing the enemy to be in chase, Captain Cornwallis formed his little squadron into a line ahead, and about five o'clock the enemy came within gun-shot, when an action ensued, which continued the whole night, but at rather a long distance; the enemy, with whom the choice lay, not choosing to come to close quarters. The following morning was calm, and the Janus, being near the French commodore, kept up a constant and well-directed fire. The boats of the Lion and Bristol were immediately ordered out to tow those ships to her assistance, which brought on a sharp and general action, that continued for about three hours, the enemy still keeping at a distance, in hopes of so disabling the British ships that he might carry them at pleasure; but finding that he made no impression upon them, he ceased firing and sheered off. Captain Cornwallis embraced this opportunity to repair his damages, and towards evening made sail in pursuit of the enemy. On the following morning three strange sail were discovered to leeward, which, on nearer approach, were found to be the Ruby of 64 guns and two frigates. Captain Cornwallis now renewed the chase with redoubled ardour; but the enemy, notwithstanding they were still so decidedly superior, continued to stand from him, and effected their escape. It is unnecessary to make any comment on this brilliant affair: considering the disparity of force which existed, it was unexampled; the ability and gallantry displayed were of the most extraordinary description, and the result conferred the highest honour on Captain Cornwallis and his brave associates. Sir Peter Parker conferred upon them that praise which they so highly merited. He spoke of it in the strongest terms, and expressed the highest satisfaction of the marked conduct and intre-

pidity of Captain Cornwallis. It gained him the highest reputation; it was an essay of what his country had to expect from the future exertions of his undaunted spirit and professional acquirements. He was not long without another opportunity of gaining additional honour, and of proving to his country and the world the invincible courage and perseverance which he possessed. Having been ordered to convoy the Salisbury and the homeward-bound fleet through the gulf of Florida, he proceeded on this service with two ships of 74 guns, two of 64, one of 50, and a frigate; and having accomplished the object of his orders, he proceeded on a cruise to the northward, when, on the 20th June, the Niger made the signal for four sail. The enemy, who were crossing the track of the British squadron, hauled up towards them, and by half-past four the two squadrons considerably neared each other. It was now perceived that the enemy had seven sail of the line drawn up ready for action, and that four other ships of the line, with several frigates, continued at a distance for the protection of a convoy. At this time the British squadron was drawn up in a line of battle ahead, on the starboard tack; the enemy on the larboard: but the Ruby, being very far to leeward, was obliged to tack, to prevent being weathered by the enemy, which compelled Captain Cornwallis to wear for her protection; and thus he got on the same tack with his opponent, who, being disappointed in his object, began to edge away without firing a shot. When the enemy had reached a sufficient distance to enable the Ruby to regain her station, she was directed to tack, when the enemy tacked also, hoisted their colours, and commenced firing. A brisk cannonade was then kept up as the ships passed in opposite directions. When the sternmost of the enemy had stretched beyond the British rear, they bore up to rejoin their convoy, and on the following morning were entirely out of sight. The great nautical skill manifested by Captain Cornwallis in this encounter, and the judgment he displayed in manœuvring his little squadron, excited the astonishment and called forth the praise even of his adversary, who, in his dispatches, unlike most of his countrymen, acknowledged the superior ability of his opponent, and paid him the following compliment: "Knowing the magnitude of the expedition I was intrusted with, and finding, from his conduct, that the officer who had the honour to command the British squadron was not to be trifled with, I JUDGED IT MOST PRUDENT TO DECLINE AN ACTION AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE."

At the close of the year Captain Cornwallis returned to England, and

served in the Channel fleet under Admiral Darby, with whom he proceeded to the relief of Gibraltar. This service being accomplished, he was commissioned to the Canada, and sailed on a cruise in the Channel*. After which he proceeded with Admiral Digby to America, where, on their arrival, exertions were making to force an action with the French fleet in the Chesapeake; but Lord Cornwallis having been obliged to surrender, the attempt was abandoned.

The French admiral, De Grasse, having sailed to the West Indies, Captain Cornwallis accompanied Sir Samuel Hood to that destination, where fresh opportunities awaited a display of his genius and courage. The first occasion was at St. Christopher's, when Sir Samuel Hood, by his superior knowledge of naval tactics, decoyed the enemy from his anchorage, and possessed himself of it. Captain Cornwallis was here second to Commodore Affleck, and by his conduct drew forth the praise of the commander-in-chief. "The enemy," said Sir Samuel, "gave the preference to Commodore Affleck, but he kept up so noble a fire, and was so well supported by his seconds, Captain Cornwallis and Lord Robert Manners, that the loss and damage sustained in those ships was very trifling, and they very much preserved the other ships in the rear." In the battles of the 9th and 12th of April, the Canada belonged to the centre division, and was in the thickest of the fight. It was, however, on the latter important day that his courage and intrepidity shone pre-eminently conspicuous. The broken state of the French navy afforded several opportunities for a display of courage and seamanship very rarely to be met with; and the most distinguished for these was Captain Cornwallis: he engaged the Hector, and fought her till she struck her colours; and then, leaving her to be taken possession of by the ships astern, he pushed up to the Ville de Paris, bearing the flag of the French commander-in-chief, and continued to engage this colossal opponent till the

* The following anecdote has been related of him whilst in command of the Canada: In consequence of an accidental delay in paying the ship's company, a mutiny broke out when at sea. "A round robin" was signed, wherein the crew declared to a man, that they would not fire a gun till they were paid. Upon the receipt of this intelligence the captain ordered the crew upon deck, and thus laconically addressed them: "My lads, the money cannot be paid till we return to port; and as to your not fighting, I'll just clap you along side the first ship of the enemy I see, when the devil himself can't keep you from it." This had the desired effect. The men were pleased that he had still confidence in them, and as nothing was said of punishment, they all cheerfully returned to their duty.

coming up of Sir S. Hood's division, when, being completely reduced, she surrendered without farther resistance.

The prizes and disabled ships having been refitted, they were ordered to England, under the command of Admiral Graves, who had likewise the charge of a large convoy of merchantmen. With this fleet Captain Cornwallis sailed, and experienced the effects of the storm which proved fatal to the Ville de Paris and several other ships, but was himself fortunate enough to survive that dreadful gale*. The Canada having been paid off, Captain Cornwallis received the honourable appointment to command one of the royal yachts; and he now experienced the first repose since he had entered the service, being a period of more than thirty years. At the latter end of 1788, he was nominated commander-in-chief in the East Indies, and sailed for that destination in February following, having hoisted his broad pendant on board the Crown of 64 guns, taking with him the Phœnix and Perseverance of 36 guns each, and also the Ariel and Atalanta of 16. One of the principal objects which the commodore had to perform, was the correction of the abuses which a state of war and the great distance from the mother country had engendered in the English settlements in the East; and on his arrival he earnestly set about a reform. His brother, the Earl of Cornwallis, was at that time governor-general, and having consulted with him, he applied such remedies as appeared to him just and necessary. He had the satisfaction to find them attended with the desired success, and to meet the approbation of the government at home.

War having broken out between Tippoo Saib and the English East India Company, a fresh scene opened, which required great circumspection, and at the same time great decision. Not that the nature of the war required the co-operation of a naval force, but as the French and Dutch were known to be favourable to the Indian powers, and as the commodore had received information that some ships were expected, under French and Imperial flags, laden with warlike stores for the use of

* In a communication which we had with Admiral Cornwallis in 1818, on the subject of his services, he said, "I have never sent any thing relating to myself to any of those publications, of which there have been many, except in one instance, to the *Naval Chronicle*, where Admiral Lord Graves, or some one for him, was pleased to accuse me of *leaving* his sinking ship coming home from Jamaica; which accusation was infamously false, and he knew it. The hull of the Canada was, I believe, in a worse state at that time than the admiral's. I was therefore obliged to contradict that which, I had reason to suppose, was put in out of ill-will to me."

Tippoo; he therefore proceeded off the Malabar coast, determined narrowly to watch the proceedings of, and search every vessel he should meet. The French frigate, La Resolue of 32 guns, sailed from Mahée roads with several merchant-vessels on the 19th November, 1791, it is said, with a full knowledge of the intentions of the British commander. At this time Commodore Cornwallis was lying in the road of Tellicherry, and the moment he descried them, he ordered the Phœnix and Perseverance to pursue them; which was obeyed with the usual alacrity of Sir Richard Strachan. Having come within range, he proceeded to carry his orders into execution: this was opposed by the French frigate, which, while the Perseverance was employed in bringing-to the convoy, fired a broadside into the Phœnix. A close action then ensued, which terminated in the surrender of the Resolue. The convoy were then searched; but as no contraband articles were found, they were suffered to proceed, whilst the Resolue was taken into Mahée roads. This undoubtedly was a strong measure, but the nature of the case left no alternative; and if the right of search should be ever conceded by Britain, farewell to her maritime greatness. The French commodore, St. Felix, shortly afterwards arrived, and having learned what had occurred, wrote to Commodore Cornwallis on the subject, threatened to oppose every instance which should again occur, and to retaliate as far as his power would permit. But M. St. Felix, like a great many others, found it much easier to talk and write, than to perform; and on finding that the English commodore was not to be deterred from pursuing his duty, he thought proper to give up the point; for on his putting to sea with several trading vessels, which, like the former, were stopped and searched, he offered no resistance.

On the 1st February, 1793, he was, though absent, raised to the rank of rear-admiral of the White; and perhaps no officer ever better deserved such promotion. Intelligence having been sent overland of the war with France, the commanders were early apprised of that measure. Chandenagore and several other small places were soon afterwards subdued, several of their ships seized, and preparations made, in conjunction with the troops under Colonel Braithwaite, for the reduction of Pondicherry, which fell by their united exertions. "This duty was, considering the very small force under the rear-admiral, certainly an arduous, and might have proved a dangerous one, the enemy being at that time far superior in force in those seas, in consequence of unexpected

reinforcements sent from Europe to the Isle of France. A numerous body of troops was actually expected under convoy of the Sibylle, a large frigate of 44 guns, and three of inferior size; while the whole force under the rear-admiral consisted of the Minerva of 38 guns, and three Indiamen fitted as armed ships. No interruption, however, was attempted against the British arms. The Sibylle indeed did make her appearance, but on being chased by the Minerva, quitted the coast with the utmost precipitation." Soon after this event he returned to England, and hoisted his flag on board the Excellent of 74 guns, in May 1794, to command a small squadron of ships. He was first ordered to escort the outward-bound East India fleet clear of the soundings, and then to cruise in the Bay.

On the 4th July, he was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral of the Blue, when he removed his flag to the Cæsar of 80 guns, and in December hoisted it on board the Royal Sovereign. At this time of difficulty and danger, it was most justly said, that there was no one to whom the government or the country looked to with more confidence than Admiral Cornwallis; or from whose tried gallantry, perseverance, and example, higher expectations were formed, should an opportunity occur to display his abilities. This was not long denied him, and the wished-for moment having arrived, he fully justified the opinion which had been formed of him. Having been appointed to command a squadron of five sail of the line, two frigates, and a sloop, off the coast of France, on the 7th June, 1795, he gave chase to three ships of the line, six frigates, a sloop, and cutter; but although the Phaeton got near enough to exchange several shot with them, they escaped, by superior sailing, into Bellisle. His exertions, however, did not go unrewarded. Having hauled his wind, two French frigates, having in tow a large Dutch ship, appeared in sight. Upon some of the headmost ships approaching within gun-shot, the tow was cast off, and she fell into the hands of the pursuers; but the frigates escaped; and having rounded the point of the island, he fell in with a convoy of the enemy's coasting vessels laden with wine, eight of which were captured. The admiral continued his cruise, annoying the enemy's trade wherever it lay in his power, till the 16th, when, being off the Penmarks, the Phaeton, which had been sent ahead on the look out, made the signal for an enemy's squadron of superior force. The admiral immediately hauled his wind on the starboard tack, and soon afterwards the enemy's force was ascertained to consist of THIRTEEN SAIL OF THE

LINE, FOURTEEN FRIGATES, two brigs, and a cutter. They were to leeward of the British squadron, standing on a wind with all sail set. In the afternoon one-half of the enemy tacked, and a change of wind taking place, brought them to windward of the British, by which the whole were enabled to fetch their opponents. On the following morning they were seen on both quarters, apparently determined to make a vigorous attack. The critical situation in which the admiral found himself placed was such as to call forth the utmost exertions; he had not only to attend to the safety of the squadron intrusted to his command, but his thoughts were occupied with a much more important consideration—the honour of the British flag, and how he should not only escape from, and baffle the overwhelming force with which he was surrounded, but repel them with disgrace; and which his own energies, aided by the valour and abilities of the officers and men in the squadron, enabled him to accomplish. About nine o'clock they commenced firing. One of their frigates ran up under the larboard quarter of the Mars, yawing and firing repeatedly. Their line-of-battle ships advanced in succession, and a galling fire was maintained the whole day, apparently with the intention of so crippling the English ships in their masts and rigging, that they might surround and carry them at pleasure. The Mars having fallen a little to leeward towards the latter part of the day, the enemy appeared to obtain fresh courage, and manifested an intention of making a more serious and vigorous attack, which obliged the admiral to bear up for her support. This measure astonished and intimidated the enemy, who, seeing that he was not deterred by their superiority from affording her his protection, though at the risk of bringing on a close and general action, abandoned their object, stood farther off, and though the firing continued till sunset, made no fresh effort; but at that time tacked and stood away, leaving the gallant admiral and his brave companions to pursue their course without impediment.

It is difficult for words to convey an adequate idea of the cool and determined courage displayed by the whole of the British squadron on this occasion, or the skill and bravery, the self-possession, and the calm intrepidity of the admiral. If the mere fact, that five sail of the line and two frigates resisted the attack of thirteen sail of the line and fourteen frigates, kept them at bay for twelve hours, and finally obliged them to retreat, is not sufficient to impress it upon the reader, and to convince the world of the pre-eminence of the British navy, all description must

fail, and we should in vain point to the victories of a Rodney, a Howe, a St. Vincent, a Duncan, or a Nelson. It conferred upon Admiral Cornwallis the highest reputation; it eclipsed his former services, and stamped his name for ever as one of the most heroic and intrepid officers. It was spoken of throughout Europe with the highest admiration, and strongly tended to confirm the predictions of those who ventured to foretel a glorious and favourable termination to the contest. It has ever since been known by the name of " Cornwallis's retreat;" and we doubt whether the retreat of " the ten thousand" was more justly celebrated.

The admiral himself bore the most unequivocal testimony to the meritorious conduct of every one engaged on this glorious occasion. " I shall ever feel," he said, " the impression which the good conduct of the captains, officers, seamen, marines, and soldiers in the squadron has made on my mind; and it was the greatest pleasure I ever experienced to see the spirit manifested by the men, who, instead of being cast down on seeing thirty sail of the enemy's ships attacking our little squadron, were in the highest state imaginable. I do not mean the Royal Sovereign alone, the same spirit was shewn by all the ships as they came near; and although, circumstanced as we were, we had no great reason to complain of the enemy, yet our men could not help repeatedly expressing their contempt of them. *Could common prudence have allowed me to let loose their valour, I hardly know what might not have been accomplished by such men.*" And on the following day he more fully expressed to them the satisfaction he felt at their conduct, by giving out the following order: " Vice-Admiral Cornwallis returns his sincere thanks to the captains, officers, seamen, and marines of the ships under his orders, for the steady and gallant conduct in the presence of the enemy yesterday; which firmness he has no doubt deterred the enemy from making a more serious attack. It would give the vice-admiral pleasure to put the whole of their exertions into effect by meeting a more equal force, when the country would receive advantage, as it now does honour, from the spirit so truly manifested by its brave men."

The skill requisite in a commander to enable him to withdraw in the presence of a very superior force, has always been considered as conferring on him as much honour as the achievement of a great and glorious victory. " He who preserves his forces amid the various difficulties that every where present themselves in retiring from a proximate enemy, more powerful from numbers, means, or locality, calls into action all the powers

that human nature possesses; and though he be excluded from the consolation arising from victory, his prowess and abilities are equally conspicuous, his zeal and perseverance equally manifest; and he has nothing to regret, but that the inequality of his force prevented his bringing in his train a proof of his courage and intrepidity." A brave and high-spirited nation, alive to every feeling of honour and generosity, could not suffer so fair an opportunity to pass without bestowing upon the actors in this important scene that meed of praise which was so eminently due; and consequently both Houses of Parliament voted them their thanks for their gallantry and steady conduct on the 16th, 17th, and 18th days of June.

In February 1796, he was directed to proceed to the West Indies with a small squadron and convoy, and on his arrival to assume the chief command. But going down the Channel in the night, the Royal Sovereign ran foul of one of the transports, and received so much damage in her cutwater as to induce the admiral to return; having directed the senior captain to proceed with the ships and convoy to the place of destination. On his arrival at Spithead, he received a private letter from Earl Spencer, offering the Astrea to convey him to Barbadoes; but being in an ill state of health, he declined; at the same time he expressed his willingness to proceed in his own ship, as soon as she was repaired. This conduct the Lords of the Admiralty considered a breach of orders, and directed a court-martial to be held to try him: first, for returning to Spithead; secondly, for not having shifted his flag after the accident to some other ship, and proceed according to his instructions; and, thirdly, for not proceeding in the Astrea agreeably to orders. Upon the two first charges the court decided that misconduct was imputable to the vice-admiral for not having shifted his flag to some other ship; but acquitted him of any disobedience on that occasion. With respect to the third charge, the court was of opinion that it had not been proved, and therefore acquitted him of any blame upon it. "This decision was certainly as honourable to the vice-admiral as any short of the most unequivocal acquittal possibly could be; the censure, such as it was, did not leave a shadow of imputation on his character either as an officer or as a man: the point turning critically on that kind of mistake which all men living are liable to make, it should rather excite our surprise, that similar instances of the same nature do not daily occur, than wonder that, on the present occasion, it should have shewn itself in so brave, experienced,

and able an officer." The vice-admiral, however, felt hurt at the conduct of the Admiralty, and requested leave to strike his flag; which being granted, he remained for some time unemployed.

On the 14th February, 1799, he was made admiral of the Blue; and at the commencement of 1801, he was appointed to succeed Lord St. Vincent as commander-in-chief of the Channel fleet; but had no other opportunity of coming in contact with the enemy during the war. On the recommencement of hostilities in 1803, he was again appointed to command the Channel fleet; and as the enemy had a large force in Brest, and daily threatened an invasion of this country, it became an object of considerable importance. The admiral, however, was so diligent in his command, he kept up so strict a watch, his patience and perseverance were so unwearied, that during the three years he remained on the station, during which time he encountered all weathers, experienced several severe storms, and if by chance he returned to port, it was a matter of absolute necessity, and he was again off the station the moment his necessities were supplied; though the enemy's fleet was perfectly ready for sea, and used occasionally to come to the outer road, the only occasion in which he could get within gun-shot was on the 21st August, 1805. On that day they weighed anchor, and came into the Goullet passage, but kept within reach of their batteries. The English fleet having stood in, the signal was made for them to lie by, and disregard the admiral's motions. He then stood in alone, to observe the strength and position of the enemy, and received a heavy fire from the batteries as he passed within reach. Having completed his observation, he returned to the squadron, with a determination to attack the enemy at their anchors the following morning. He consequently made known his intention to the different captains of the fleet; adding, that he himself intended to engage the French commander-in-chief, and hoped that every ship would bring out her opponent. On the following morning the fleet weighed, and being formed into a line of battle, the admiral led the van. The moment they approached within gun-shot of the batteries (which formed one entire range of guns all along the cliffs, and which kept up a constant fire of shot and shells,) their fleet weighed, and having wind and tide in their favour, escaped into the inner road. The Ville de Paris, Cæsar, and Montagu, however, exchanged shot with some of their sternmost ships, and caused them considerable damage; but they kept so near under their forts, that it became impossible to bring them to close action.

Had he been enabled to do so, his intention was to run along side and carry the enemy by boarding, for which purpose 300 men were armed and ready; but unfortunately this desperate attempt was baffled by the retreat of the enemy. The first shot that reached the Ville de Paris struck the spare anchor, and flew into a thousand pieces, spreading in all directions: one part, of about a pound weight, struck the admiral on the breast, but being spent, caused only a slight bruise. The admiral continued on this station till 1806, when he was succeeded by Lord St. Vincent, and did not again hoist his flag. On the extension of the order of the Bath, the Prince Regent was graciously pleased to nominate him a Grand Cross, as an acknowledgment of his long and faithful services. He died 5th July, 1819.

We consider Sir William Cornwallis to have been one of the most eminent, experienced, and able seamen of his time. He possessed very strong natural parts, which were cultivated by tuition, and improved by industry and application. To great soundness of judgment he united a promptness of decision, and an innate spirit of activity and courage, which were controuled by a cool and deliberate temper, not to be ruffled by accident, or shaken by any unforeseen or sudden emergency. Though he was descended from, and a near branch of, a noble family, he does not appear to have derived any particular advantage from that circumstance; but, on the contrary, to have owed every thing to his own powerful genius. With the co-operation of the gallant and experienced officers and the brave men he commanded, he ran a glorious race; and in that period and in those events which are recorded as the most important in English history, the name of Cornwallis stands high in the list of those who are considered the purest and brightest characters ever produced by the British navy.

In person he was of the middle size, stout and portly. His habits and disposition, though reserved, were mild and unostentatious; and it may be said of him, as was said of Scipio, that he was never less alone than when alone: for though at sea he was active and cheerful, yet when on shore he was so little desirous of bustle, that on retiring to his country residence, it being observed to him, that he must find it very dull and lonely, he replied, " The cabbages in the garden are sufficient amusement for me."

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL JOHN MAC BRIDE.

THROUGH the exertions of the British navy, the skill and activity of the officers, joined to the valour and intrepidity of the men, as exhibited during the late wars, the country acquired a degree of consequence and superiority which it never before possessed, and which was never exceeded by any other nation, ancient or modern; and it is with pleasure we attempt, however feebly, to do justice to those individuals, whether living or dead, who so eminently contributed to the advancement of its glory. That Admiral Mac Bride, by his maritime abilities, his personal exploits, his honour and humanity, materially assisted in placing the country in that proud and elevated situation, and that his services were such as deserve to be remembered, we trust the perusal of this Memoir will prove. He was a native of Ireland, and entered early into the naval profession. Having passed through his probationary service, he was made a lieutenant on the 27th October, 1758. In 1761, he obtained the command of the Grace armed cutter, in which he gave an ample proof of his skill and bravery, and an earnest of what his country might expect from him when at maturer years and with more ample means. Being ordered to cruise off the coast of France, he observed a privateer in Dunkirk roads, and immediately resolved to cut her out: for this purpose he applied to Captain Digges of the Maidstone, who was also on the coast, to spare him four boats manned and armed, which were readily granted. Every arrangement having been made which could ensure success, the boats left the ship at ten at night, and on approaching the road the precaution was taken to muffle two oars in each boat, and lay the rest across, to prevent alarming the enemy. In this manner they pulled for their object, and when within musket-shot distance were hailed by the enemy, but instead of making any answer, rowed with more speed, and in a few minutes boarded the privateer on both sides, took possession, and brought her out from under the guns of the batteries, without the loss of a single man, and only two wounded. Lieutenant Mac Bride shot the captain through the head with a musket just as he was pointing a gun into the boat; besides whom there were 9 killed

and 5 wounded. Though Lieutenant Mac Bride did not receive immediate promotion for this gallant exploit, it was not long delayed; for on the 7th April following, he was made a commander, and appointed to the Grampus fire-ship; but shortly afterwards removed into the Cruiser sloop. But his name does not again occur as being connected with any particular circumstance during the war. On the 20th June, 1765, he was advanced to the rank of post-captain, and appointed to the Renown of 30 guns. In 1766, he removed to the Jason of 32 guns, and proceeded to the South Seas; from whence he returned in 1768, and was appointed to command the Seaford, employed as a cruiser on the home station, under the orders of the Duke of Cumberland. On his quitting that vessel, he was appointed to the Southampton; and in 1772 was directed to proceed to Elsineur, accompanied by the Seaford and Cruiser, to conduct the Queen of Denmark (sister to his Majesty George III.) to Stade. Her majesty and his Excellency Sir Robert Murray Keith, ambassador to Copenhagen, embarked on board the Southampton, under a royal salute. The squadron arrived at Stade on the 6th June, and her majesty was received with every mark of respect and attention. In 1775, he commanded the Bienfaisant of 64 guns, in which he captured the American privateer Tartar of 24 guns and 200 men. His name also appears connected with every important event which happened at that period in the seas near home. In 1778, he acted under the orders of Admiral Keppel in the action with D'Orvilliers; and subsequently served under the command of Sir Charles Hardy, in opposing the numerous fleet of the enemy which then menaced the coast of England, but which were compelled to renounce the high attitude they had assumed, in favour of their more hardy, more skilful, and more persevering opponents. Towards the end of the year 1779, Captain Mac Bride proceeded with Sir George Rodney to the relief of the important fortress of Gibraltar; and on the capture of the Spanish convoy, the Guipuscoa surrendered to the Bienfaisant. In the action with Langara he was still farther distinguished: in chase of the St. Domingo he approached within half a cable's length, and commenced firing his bow guns, which was returned by the enemy, which shortly after took fire and blew up. Had this awful event happened a few minutes later, the Bienfaisant must have shared the same fate, and it was with difficulty she escaped some serious damage. A great part of the wreck came athwart of, and several burning pieces fell on board, the Bienfaisant; but the sails and rigging being wet with rain, prevented any

damage being sustained, except the wounding of three men. Having escaped from this danger, Captain Mac Bride continued in pursuit of the flying enemy, and came up with the Phœnix, which had lost her mizen-mast, and was otherwise considerably damaged. A short cannonade ensued, and she was farther disabled by the loss of her main-top-mast: all firing then ceased, and Captain Mac Bride took possession of the Spanish admiral's ship. The night was very tempestuous, and as day broke he was surprised to find there was no other ship in sight. As the gale increased, he was obliged to lie-to the whole of the day, having with great difficulty succeeded in putting 100 men on board the prize. The following morning was more moderate, so that the boats could pass with ease; but as the small-pox was raging on board the Bienfaisant, Captain Mac Bride, actuated by the purest principles of humanity, unwilling to introduce the infection amongst the prisoners, acquainted Admiral Langara with the circumstance, and proposed to him to let the whole of the Spanish officers and ship's company remain on board the Phœnix; the admiral being responsible for the officers and men, that in case any French or Spanish ship should be fallen in with, the lieutenant and men who were placed on board the prize should not be interrupted in conducting and defending her to the last extremity; and if a superior force should be met with, and the Bienfaisant fight her way clear, and the Phœnix be retaken, Admiral Langara, his officers and men, to hold themselves prisoners of war upon their parole; but if the Bienfaisant should be captured, and the Phœnix escape, the admiral, his officers and crew, were then to be freed. These terms were accepted with many and sincere thanks, and executed with the strictest honour: the Spaniards assisted in refitting the ship, and in navigating her to Gibraltar. It is impossible to say which ought most to be admired, the humanity and generosity of Captain Mac Bride in making the offer, or the high sense of honour possessed by the Spanish admiral, which induced him punctually and faithfully to adhere to the execution of the terms.

A relation of such actions throws a fascinating splendour around the page of biography; it relieves the mind from that regular detail of blood and slaughter, of defeat and victory, and lays down a rule of conduct worthy the imitation of all others in similar situations. Sir George Rodney was so well pleased with the conduct of Captain Mac Bride during the whole proceeding, that he sent him home express with the intelligence of their success; but unfortunately he was not the first who brought

the happy tidings. Owing to the state of the weather, he was blown so much to the westward, that Captain Thompson, who had been intrusted with the duplicate dispatches, arrived before him.

In the month of August following, he was directed to convoy a fleet of victuallers from Cork, having under his orders, besides his own ship, the Charon of 44 guns, the Licorne of 32, and the Hussar of 28. He sailed from Cork on the 12th August, but as the whole had not cleared the harbour, he directed the Licorne and Hussar to remain off the entrance, to hasten up the remainder. On the following morning he was off Kinsale, and observing a strange sail, apparently in chase of some of the convoy, he immediately made towards her, and brought her to action about half-past seven a.m. Both ships reserved their fire till within pistol-shot, and the combat commenced with a discharge of musketry. As the Bienfaisant came up with a press of sail, some short time elapsed before they were properly regulated, and the ship placed in the position which her gallant captain desired: this induced the enemy to make a desperate attempt to board their antagonist, but in which they were defeated with considerable loss. A close and sharp contest then ensued, which continued for an hour and ten minutes, when the Charon having come up, the enemy surrendered, and proved to be the Comte d'Artois, a private ship of war, mounting 64 guns, and having on board 664 men, 21 of whom were killed and 35 wounded. Amongst the survivors were two brothers of the captain, and who were colonels in the Irish legion. The Bienfaisant had 3 men killed and 22 wounded; the Charon had 1 man wounded.

In the following month Captain Mac Bride captured a small French privateer, called the Comtesse d'Artois; and at the close of the year, having quitted the Bienfaisant, he was appointed to the Artois frigate, which had been captured off the coast of Portugal by the Romney, and which was considered the finest ship of her class in the world. In April 1781, he was ordered to collect in Leith roads the ships bound to the Baltic from the ports on the eastern side of the island; and having collected above two hundred sail, he put to sea, but before he had cleared the frith of Forth he was recalled by signal, intelligence having been received, that a squadron of Dutch frigates was at sea for the purpose of intercepting them. He was accordingly directed to await the arrival of Admiral Parker, with whom he proceeded to the Baltic. On their return they were met by the Dutch fleet under Admiral Zoutman, and

during the action which ensued, Captain Mac Bride was ordered, with the other frigates, to keep at a distance with the convoy; but seeing that the Dolphin was very roughly handled by the enemy,. and in great danger, he proposed to Captain Hyde Parker (the son of the admiral) to go down to her assistance; but Captain Parker did not think himself authorized to do so without a signal from the admiral for that purpose. This, however, did not operate on the active and enterprizing spirit of Captain Mac Bride, who could not reconcile it to his mind, that it was necessary to be ordered to assist a friend in distress when he had it in his power to do so. He therefore proceeded alone, and by his opportune arrival was very instrumental in saving her from either sinking or falling into the hands of the enemy; an act for which he was particularly thanked by the commander-in-chief, and who, thinking he should be able to renew the action, requested he would take the command of the Princess Amelia, as successor to Captain Macartney, who had fallen in the action. On the return of the squadron to port, Captain Mac Bride resumed the command of the Artois, and proceeded to cruise in the North Sea. On the 3d December, he fell in with two Dutch privateers, which stood for him with great apparent resolution, and attacked him on the bow and quarter. Having sufficiently disabled, or to use his own expression, " winged" the one on his quarter, he pushed forward and closed with her consort, which he obliged to surrender in about thirty minutes. He then wore round after the other, which was making off, but which also surrendered on his coming up. They each mounted 24 9-pounders, and were afterwards added to the British navy.

In the following year he was attached to the fleet under Admiral Barrington, and sailed with him to intercept a French squadron ordered to the East Indies. Captain Mac Bride was fortunately the first to discover the enemy; a general chase ensued, which terminated in the capture of two sail of the line and several transports. In consequence of the difficulty experienced in manning the British navy at this period, and the supposed influence which he had in Ireland, Captain Mac Bride was appointed to superintend the raising the quota for that part of the kingdom, and in which his exertions were attended with the desired success. He continued on this service till the end of the war, the Artois cruising under the temporary command of the first lieutenant.

At the termination of hostilities, he quitted the command of the Artois, and was appointed to the Druid, on the peace establishment. He was

also elected one of the representatives in Parliament for the borough of Plymouth; and in this new situation his exertions were highly meritorious, and were directed to the improvement of the service and the benefit of his brother officers. He brought in a bill for the relief of the widows of warrant and petty officers, and also for restricting captains in the navy from holding civil situations.

In 1788, he was appointed to the Cumberland of 74 guns, stationed as a guardship at Plymouth. He also attended on his Majesty at Weymouth; and afterwards sailed on a short cruise with Admiral Cornish.

On the 1st February, 1793, he was advanced to the rank of rear-admiral of the Blue, and appointed commander-in-chief in the Downs. He was also employed in conveying troops and provisions to the army under the Duke of York in the Netherlands; and, in conjunction with Earl Moira, in making diversions on the coast of Normandy in favour of the royalists of France, but without any favourable result.

On the 4th July, 1795, he was promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the Blue; and on the 14th February, 1799, to that of admiral of the Blue. He died of an apoplectic fit in February 1800.

Both as an officer and a gentleman, the death of Admiral Mac Bride was much regretted. His professional character had attained a very distinguished degree of eminence: his ambition and daring spirit taught him to court danger; his resolution and perseverance to surmount it. His general talents and acquirements were far beyond mediocrity, and his disposition was easy and amiable. The free and exalted sentiments of his mind procured him the love and affection of those with whom he was acquainted, and the admiration of those who knew them at a distance.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL LORD GARDNER.

In pursuing the progress of our labours, we should find our situation particularly arduous and difficult, one indeed which would have deterred us from proceeding, had we been called upon to pronounce an opinion on the relative degrees of merit possessed by those whose actions have come under our notice, and are recorded in this work. But without making any comparison, without any invidious allusion, we may be permitted to say, that we know of no one whose talents, spirit, and loyalty were more universally acknowledged, who, in a subordinate capacity, added more lustre to the British flag, or who exalted the fame and glory of the country to a higher point, than Admiral Alan Lord Gardner. By the eminent qualities which he possessed, by the force of his own intrinsic worth, and by the unassisted excellence of his character, he obtained the highest renown in his profession, raised his family to the peerage, and secured those laurels which will ever remain fresh and unwithered so long as naval virtues shall be duly estimated.

His lordship was descended from a very respectable family long resident in Ireland; he was the son of Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner of the 11th regiment of Dragoon Guards, and was born at Uttoxeter, in Staffordshire, April 12, 1742. Being destined to a naval life, he commenced his career, May 1, 1755, on board the Medway, Captain Sir Peter Denis; and at an early age obtained a high character for bravery and the strict attention which he paid to his duty. Captain Proby having been appointed to command the Medway, he continued under that officer, who, in 1757, in company with the Eagle, Captain Palliser, took, after an action of one hour's continuance, the Duc d'Acquitaine, a French ship of 60 guns. After which he removed into the Dorsetshire of 70 guns, commanded by his patron, Sir Peter Denis, who, on the 29th May, 1758, captured the Raisonable, French ship of 64 guns. The Dorsetshire was then attached to the fleet under Sir Edward Hawke, and in November 1759, shared in the glorious battle with Conflans.

He had now been in two actions with single ships, in one general action, and had experienced such a course of service as falls to the lot of

very few of his years. On the 7th March, 1760, he was most deservedly promoted to a lieutenancy, and appointed to the Bellona, under his old friend, Captain Denis. Captain Faulkner, however, shortly after succeeded him in the command of that vessel; but this made no alteration in the situation of Lieutenant Gardner, whose previous conduct had acquired him so much praise, that while it obtained for him the respect and approbation of his superiors, it endeared him to the hearts of his companions. He therefore remained on board the Bellona, and in August 1761, again signalized himself in battle. The Bellona and Brilliant frigate being on a cruise, fell in with Le Courageux of 74 guns and two frigates of 32 guns each. A desperate contest ensued, which terminated in the capture of the Courageux, which ship had 110 men killed and 240 wounded; while the loss of the Bellona was only 5 killed and 16 wounded. On the 12th April, 1762, he was promoted to the rank of commander, and appointed to the Raven fire-ship, but had no farther opportunity of displaying his prowess and abilities during that war. On the 17th May, 1766, he was advanced to post-rank, in the Preston of 50 guns; on board which ship Admiral Parry hoisted his flag, on being appointed commander-in-chief at Jamaica. Captain Gardner continued on board the Preston for about two years, when he removed to the Levant frigate; but continued on the same station till 1771, when he returned to England and was paid off. In 1775, he obtained the command of the Maidstone of 28 guns, and again proceeded to the West Indies, where he remained till 1778.

The court of France having for several years, under cover of the most specious protestations of neutrality, carried on a series of intrigue with the American colonies of Britain, an intrigue founded on a duplicity unworthy of the character of a great nation, at last openly declared itself in their favour, and sent a squadron of ships to their assistance. Captain Gardner having been ordered to America, he fell in with their fleet, and was the first to give Lord Howe notice of their arrival. Being subsequently ordered out on a cruise, on the 3d November he fell in with a large French ship off Cape Henry, and to which he immediately gave chase. About half-past three o'clock he brought her to close action, which continued for about an hour, when he was under the necessity of hauling off to repair his damages. At daybreak another French ship appeared in sight, and Captain Gardner's situation was any thing but enviable; but in this extremity, instead of brooding over it, or admitting

any despair, with the characteristic spirit of a British seaman, he resolved to give the enemy a warm reception, and to sell the charge committed to him as dear as possible. From this alternative, however, he was happily relieved, by the stranger, after having made her private signal, hauling her wind and leaving her consort to her fate. Captain Gardner now again sought his opponent, who was about a league to windward, and about twelve o'clock again brought her to action. The battle was obstinately contested, and it was not until another hour had elapsed, when, by dint of courage the most invincible, perseverance the most praiseworthy, and exertion the most extraordinary, the enemy was compelled to surrender. She proved to be the Lion of 40 guns, on her passage from Virginia to Port l'Orient, laden with 1300 hogsheads of tobacco. A circumstance now occurred which redounded much to the honour of Captain Gardner, and strongly evinced that high-minded disinterestedness which he possessed, and which should ever actuate the naval officers of Britain. Both ships were much disabled in their masts and rigging, and the wind being adverse, rendered his return to port a matter of very great difficulty; and though it blew fair for England, and he might, with great propriety of conduct, have proceeded thither, he declined it, lest improper motives should be attributed to his doing so; lest he should be accused of unnecessarily leaving his station, and that for the worst of all motives, vile sordid lucre. He therefore bore away for Antigua (which he was nearly seven weeks in reaching), where the cargo was sold; but it has been averred, that it did not realize so much by several thousands of pounds as it would have done had he immediately proceeded to England.

Soon after his arrival, he was appointed by Admiral Byron to command the Sultan of 74 guns; and in July 1779, he was called to exert his valour and abilities in the action which took place off Grenada. He was one of the first in action, and one of the last out of it; and though the contest resembled the sudden attacks of different ships rather than a general action, it afforded a fine display of zeal, courage, and perseverance in those who were engaged; and though it terminated without any beneficial result, it was universally allowed, that Captain Gardner manifested as much heroism, and deserved as much praise, as if he had assisted in gaining a complete and decisive victory. His ship suffered severely on this occasion, having had 16 men killed and 39 wounded; a number not exceeded by any other vessel of the squadron, the Prince of Wales

and Grafton excepted. He subsequently sailed to Jamaica, to reinforce the squadron under Sir Peter Parker; and in June 1780, he was with Commodore Cornwallis when he defeated M. de Ternay.

Shortly after this event he returned to England, and the Sultan was paid off. Captain Gardner, however, remained but a short time out of employ; a period barely sufficient to recruit his health and strength, which had somewhat suffered from his great exertions and the length of time he had been at sea, and to arrange some private affairs. He was then appointed to the Duke of 98 guns, and again ordered to the West Indies, with some other ships, to reinforce the squadron under Sir George Rodney. It was the fortune of Captain Gardner to be led where honour and glory were to be acquired, and the West Indies at this period exhibited a scene of the most active and enterprizing hostility. He sailed from England the latter end of 1781, and arrived time enough to join in the important and decisive actions on the 9th and 12th of April. On the latter glorious day the Duke was second ahead to Sir George Rodney, was the first to pass through the enemy's line*, and by his irresistible valour, he mainly contributed to obtain that victory which humbled the pride of France, rescued the West India Islands from her grasp, scattered her fleets, and tended to break up that formidable combination against the power of England, of which she was the main spring. Sir George Rodney, in his official letter, bore the most honourable testimony to the merits and spirited exertions of Captain Gardner, whose loss on those occasions was 13 killed and 60 wounded. Admiral Pigot having superseded Sir George Rodney on this station, sailed, on the commencement of the hurricane season, for North America, whither Captain Gardner also proceeded, and afterwards returned to Jamaica; but peace having taken place, he was ordered to England, where he was paid off. But in 1785, he was appointed commander-in-chief on the Jamaica station, and continued there for the usual period of three years, without any thing particular having occurred that demands our attention.

In 1791, he was nominated to the high and important situation of one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. On the 1st February, 1793, he was raised to the rank of rear-admiral, and appointed to succeed Sir John Laforey as commander-in-chief in the Leeward Islands. He sailed for that destination in March, with five sail of the line, but returned to England in the month of October following. The only circumstance of

* This, however, was not a matter of choice, but necessity, and adopted to prevent running on board one of the enemy's ships.

any consequence which occurred during that space of time, was an unsuccessful attack made on the Island of Martinique. Encouraged by the disputes which existed between the royalists and republicans, Major-General Bruce with 3000 troops was landed in that colony, covered and protected by the squadron under Admiral Gardner. But, as frequently happens in similar circumstances, many of the royalists, seeing their property in danger, united with the republicans; and their united strength proving too strong for the detachment of British troops, the latter were obliged to re-embark, after sustaining some loss. Having returned to Europe, he was attached to the fleet under the command of Earl Howe, and shared in the actions of the 29th May and 1st June, when the republicans of France, animated with an enthusiastic spirit in the cause of liberty, fought with a desperation which has no parallel in the history of the French marine: they put every thing to the hazard, but it only rendered the victory over them the more complete. By his exertions on those days of glory, by his steady valour and unconquerable spirit, he enrolled his name amongst the bravest of the brave. This was the third instance in which Admiral Gardner had commanded a ship in a general action, and in each of which it was his lot to be in the thickest of the fight, and consequently to sustain material loss. On the 1st June he had 36 men killed and 67 wounded; a loss which was exceeded only by the Brunswick, Captain John Harvey.

For the eminent and distinguished services which the admiral had rendered to the country, and for the abilities which he had displayed, his Majesty conferred upon him the dignity of a baronet, presented him with a gold chain and medal, created him major-general of marines, and promoted him to be vice-admiral of the Blue. He continued attached to the Channel fleet, and in June 1795, was with Lord Bridport in the encounter with the enemy off L'Orient, but does not appear to have been materially engaged; but in his place in Parliament he received the thanks of the Commons of England for his " gallant exertions in the late brilliant victory." In June 1796, he was elected, in conjunction with Mr. Fox, one of the representatives in Parliament for the city of Westminster. During the mutiny which broke out in the Channel fleet in the spring of 1797, Sir Alan had his flag on board the Royal Sovereign of 110 guns; and it was only on this unfortunate occasion that his conduct appears to have been unbecoming his station and that high character which he had so justly acquired. Accompanied by Admirals Colpoys and Pole, he went on board the Queen Charlotte, to confer with the

delegates as to the nature of their demands, and on the best and readiest means of arranging them. But the delegates openly declared, that no arrangements would be considered final unless sanctioned by the king and parliament, and farther guaranteed by a proclamation for a general pardon. Hurried away by an excess of zeal for his sovereign and the country, this declaration so irritated Admiral Gardner, that his anger got the better of his prudence: he seized one of the delegates by the collar, and threatened to have him hanged, with every fifth man in the fleet. This was adding fuel to fire, and instead of allaying the flame, only served to increase it. As might naturally have been expected, it tended to exasperate the men, and to unite them closer together. The admiral with much difficulty escaped on shore from their fury, and the consequences had nearly proved fatal to several of the officers.

The demands of the seamen having been complied with, the fleet proceeded to sea, and Admiral Gardner continued to cruise off the French coast. On the 14th February, 1799, he was made admiral of the Blue; in August 1800, commander-in-chief off the coast of Ireland; and in December following created an Irish peer, by the title of Baron Gardner. In 1802, he was re-elected M. P. for the city of Westminster; and as all hostilities had ceased, his time was occupied by his parliamentary duties. In 1806, his Majesty, as a reward for the important services which he had rendered to the country during a period of fifty-three years, and as a stimulus to make similar exertions, was pleased to create him a peer of the united kingdom, by the style and title of Baron Gardner of Uttoxeter, in the county of Stafford.

In 1807, his lordship was appointed to the high and important command of the Channel fleet; but, in consequence of ill health, was obliged to resign it the following year; and died, full of years and glory, on the 1st Jan. 1809. His lordship was married at Jamaica, in the month of May, 1769, to Susanna Hyde, daughter and heiress to Francis Gale, Esq. of that island, and widow of Sabine Turner, Esq. By this marriage his lordship had several children, some of whom were educated in that profession of which he had been so distinguished an ornament. He was universally allowed to be a most able officer, and one of the greatest supporters of our naval renown, but at the same time one of the severest and most arbitrary. He was formed by a long course of experience in various parts of the world and in the most illustrious scenes of action: He served in ten glorious battles, in all of which he displayed such courage, skill, and intrepidity, as were equalled by few and exceeded by none.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL SIR JAMES WALLACE, KNIGHT.

IT is a pleasing task to rescue from oblivion the memory of a man of genius and talent, who, had he been permitted to enjoy a more extended scene of action in the pursuit of glory, had his career not been checked, had he been allowed full scope for a display of his bravery, his perseverance, his humanity, and general excellence, would have attained the highest celebrity, and gained those honours which are the object of ambition, the inducement to and the reward of valour. As it was, his name will ever be remembered amongst the distinguished heroes who immortalized the reign of his Majesty George III.

Of Sir James Wallace's family, his birth, his first entrance into the navy, or his early services, we have not been able to obtain any information; a circumstance we extremely regret, as from the bold and daring character which he possessed, no doubt his youth was distinguished by adventures and exploits which display the rising genius, afford interest to biography, and throw a pleasing light over the page of history.

The first account that we can find recorded of him places him in command of the Trial sloop, in the peace establishment of 1763, and on the Newfoundland station; subsequently to which, he commanded the Dolphin of 20 guns in the East Indies: but in neither of these situations do we find any event of the smallest interest recorded of him. In 1774, he proceeded to the coast of America, on board the Rose of 20 guns, and from this period he began to rise in public estimation; his services became the favourite theme of naval historians, and his character and history are no longer obscure. Being on the Newfoundland station at the period when the disturbances in Massachusets began to assume a serious aspect, he was dispatched by Admiral Shuldham to Boston, with a reinforcement of the 65th regiment, which proved a most seasonable supply. Neither was the arrival of the Rose herself of less consequence; she not only afforded protection to his Majesty's loyal subjects, but mainly contributed to check the great importation of prohibited goods which had for some time been carried on almost with impunity. An armed mob having seized the cannon and ammunition in Fort George at New-

port, and carried it to the town of Providence, he waited upon the governor, and demanded to know the reason why the fort had been dismantled. To which he received a very explicit answer: that the guns and stores were removed "to prevent them falling into the hands of the king or any of his servants, and to make use of them against any power that shall offer to molest us." This was frank and manly, and taught Captain Wallace what he had to expect. He therefore took his measures accordingly, and by his diligence, activity, promptitude, and decision, overawed the disaffected, and rendered the most important assistance to those who still remained faithful to their sovereign. He seized large supplies of provisions intended for the rebel camp, and forwarded them to the British authorities at Boston; and having had the Glasgow and Swan placed under his orders, he was enabled to keep the island for some time in obedience. It, however, required the utmost vigilance of this intrepid officer to prevent the enemy from receiving those supplies which were almost constantly being forwarded to them. On one occasion he chased three of their vessels into Stonnington harbour; and as they were there assisted by the people on shore, he brought his guns to bear on the town, which he cannonaded for several hours, and having caused considerable damage to the stores and dwellings, he boarded the vessels and brought them out. He then proceeded up the harbour of Bristol, and demanded a supply of three hundred sheep; which being refused, and some shots having been fired at the Rose, he began firing on the town, which continued till a deputation of the inhabitants came on board to offer an accommodation and a present of forty sheep, which were accepted.

In the following year (1776), he fell in with two of the enemy's vessels, one of 20 guns, and the other of 16. With such fearful odds, success could scarcely be expected; but success attends the brave, and Captain Wallace with great resolution bore up to engage, and a sharp contest ensued. So well were the guns of the Rose pointed, and with such rapidity were they discharged, that the smallest was soon evidently in the most imminent danger. Captain Wallace then ran her on board, from the shock of which she soon filled with water and sunk. Whilst he was most laudably engaged in endeavouring to save part of the crew, the largest of the enemy's vessels set all the sail she could carry, and made her escape.

Lord Howe having arrived from England, and preparations having

been made for the reduction of Long Island, Captain Wallace was detached under the orders of Sir Hyde Parker up the North River*. He was afterwards employed to cover the landing of the troops, and subsequently in the reduction of New-York. Having removed into the Experiment of 50 guns, he was detached with Sir Peter Parker and General Clinton against Rhode Island, which fell into their possession. In 1777, he accompanied Commodore Hotham and General Clinton up the North River, in hopes of effecting a junction with the army under General Burgoyne†; and as the local knowledge of Captain Wallace was very great, the commodore intrusted him with the command of the boats and small vessels (on board of which were embarked General Vaughan and a body of light troops), which acted as a flying squadron: but though all was done that art could invent or perseverance achieve, though many difficulties and obstacles were overcome, several forts taken, and shipping destroyed, the main object of the expedition failed; but we will venture to assert, that no officer ever manifested more zeal and ardour, or exhibited more skill, energy, and valour, than did Captain Wallace throughout the whole of the operations.

In the campaign of 1778, he was more particularly under the orders of Lord Howe; was with him at New-York, went with him in pursuit of the enemy, was in all the operations of the fleet, and at its close returned with him to England. The situation of Great Britain at this period was critical, and the events of the year 1779 multifarious and important in the highest degree. The government of France having induced the court of Spain to make common cause with her in the contest with England, began to form the most extensive projects of invasion, and preparations were making in all the maritime provinces of the kingdom. They determined to commence by making an attempt on the Islands of Jersey and Guernsey. These two islands were all that remained to England of her ancient power and greatness in France; and the vanity as well as interest of the French government prompted them to wrest from her dominion those proofs of her superiority. They embarked 5000 troops in fifty flat-bottomed boats, and, under the protection of five frigates, attempted a landing in St. Orien's Bay, but met with so warm a reception from the forces on the island, that they were obliged to retire without landing a man. Not discouraged, however, by the loss and disgrace which they experienced on that occasion, they still hovered

* See *Memoir of Sir* HYDE PARKER. † See *Memoir of Lord* HOTHAM.

about on the opposite coast, and appeared determined to make another attempt. But as it was desirable that an effort should be made either to effect their capture or destruction, Sir James Wallace (who had been left by Admiral Arbuthnot for the protection of the islands*), with the Experiment of 50 guns, Pallas of 36, Unicorn of 20, and two brigs of 12 guns each, proceeded round the west end of the island, and on the 13th May obtained sight of three French frigates and several smaller vessels, which he pursued into Concalle Bay, where they ran ashore under the protection of some batteries. Carried away with that ardour which had ever distinguished his professional conduct, Captain Wallace was soon amongst them, and by the brisk and animated fire which he opened, the Danaë of 36 guns was soon compelled to surrender. The Pallas, Unicorn, and the two brigs kept up a constant fire on the remainder of the French squadron, which, aided by the militia of the country, who brought several pieces of cannon and howitzers to the beach, kept up a very brisk cannonade. The battery also maintained a galling fire, and as that formed the greatest obstacle to the capture or destruction of the enemy's frigates, Sir James determined on laying the Experiment along side of it. He was warned by the pilot against proceeding higher up the bay, but this did not deter him from his purpose; he was determined, if possible, to effect the complete destruction of the enemy's ships of war, or at least to run every risk in the attempt. Taking therefore the risk upon himself, he ordered the pilot to proceed, and lay him along side the battery. This was effected, but at the moment of bringing up, the Experiment took the ground (from which she was soon afterwards got off); notwithstanding which, she opened such a fire as soon completely silenced the battery. The crews of the remainder of the enemy's squadron seeing themselves deprived of this protection, deserted them, and they were immediately destroyed by the boats of the British squadron. Having, by the utmost spirit, activity, and gallantry, put an end to all farther appearance of threat and alarm in this quarter, he again proceeded to America, and after his arrival at New-York, he was dispatched to Savannah with supplies and money for the troops. But ere he reached his destination, ere he could again measure his strength with an enemy with any probability of success, and ere he could add to the reputation which he had so honourably acquired, he fell into the hands of the enemy. The French fleet

* *See Memoir of Admiral* ARBUTHNOT.

most unexpectedly made its appearance on that coast, and as the Experiment had unfortunately been dismasted in a violent gale of wind a few days before, escape was impracticable. He was, however, soon exchanged, and after an honourable acquittal, restored to the service, appointed to the Nonsuch of 64 guns, and sailed on a cruise off the coast of France.

On the 14th July, 1780, he fell in with a convoy of twenty-two sail of coasters, under the protection of three frigates, to which he immediately gave chase; but before he could come up with them they escaped into the Loire, except three small vessels and one of the frigates, the former of which were captured, and the latter, having run aground on the Blanche bank, was burnt the following morning by the boats from the Nonsuch. Whilst this service was being performed, three ships were discovered in the offing making signals. Sir James lost not a moment in pursuing them, and found they were three frigates. About midnight he came up with the sternmost, which, after an action of two hours, struck her colours, and proved to be the Belle Poule of 32 guns and 275 men, 25 of whom, including her captain, were killed, and 50, including her second captain, wounded. The others effected their escape. In 1781, Sir James was attached to the Channel fleet, under Admiral Darby, and proceeded with him to the relief of Gibraltar. On their return from thence the Nonsuch was the look-out ship of the squadron, and on the 14th May, about eight o'clock in the evening, discovered three sail; made the signal and chased; soon after which a large sail was seen bearing E. S. E. As the Nonsuch was now out of sight of the fleet, Sir James thought it advisable to pursue the latter, and about half-past ten got within gun-shot, and found her to be a French 74-gun ship. The enemy immediately fired a broadside and dropped astern. Having returned this fire, the Nonsuch instantly wore, raked her opponent with great effect, and brought her to close action, which continued an hour and a half without intermission, when the two ships fell on board of each other, the anchor of the Nonsuch locking the Frenchman's quarter; but the flukes giving way, they separated, and the enemy, availing themselves of the heads of the vessels being different ways, made sail to get away. The Nonsuch immediately wore, and every exertion was now made to come up with the enemy, but owing to her disabled state, it was five o'clock before she could again get into action. It was then renewed with great obstinacy and vigour for another hour, when the Nonsuch became

a complete wreck: her masts, sails, and rigging cut to pieces; sprit-sail and fore-yard gone; several guns dismounted, and her decks covered with dead and wounded. The enemy having shot ahead, Sir James found the situation of the ship he commanded to be such as precluded all probability of renewing the action; he therefore hauled his wind, and the enemy escaped into Brest. Though the exertions of Sir James Wallace and his gallant company were not rewarded by the capture of their opponent, the action stands recorded as one of the brightest examples of British valour and perseverance. In this contest, the Nonsuch had 26 men killed and 64 wounded. The conduct of Sir James, throughout the whole affair, excited the highest praise, and he was shortly after appointed to the Warrior of 74 guns. He was then ordered to the West Indies, where fresh honour awaited him; and in the actions of the 9th and 12th April, his valour was again conspicuously displayed, and his loss was in proportion, having had 26 men killed and wounded. He continued on the station till after the termination of the war, when he returned to England, and enjoyed a relaxation from professional duties.

In 1790, he was appointed to the Swiftsure of 74 guns, which he retained only till the autumn of the following year. In 1793, he was made colonel of marines. In this year also the war with revolutionary France again called forth the energies of the nation, again were her naval heroes distinguished by every martial virtue, and again did they triumph over every obstacle. Having been appointed to the Monarch of 74 guns, Sir James Wallace sailed with Rear-Admiral Gardner to the West Indies, and returned with him at the close of the year. In the beginning of the following year, he was ordered to cruise off the coast of France with a small squadron, having the rank of commodore.

On the 11th April, he was most justly advanced to the rank of rear-admiral of the White, and to command in chief at Newfoundland. On the 1st June, 1795, he was promoted to be vice-admiral of the White. In the last year of his command on this station, Admiral Richerry escaped from Cadiz, and proceeded to Newfoundland, where he did considerable damage, by burning property to a large amount. It was a source of great mortification to the active mind of Sir James Wallace, to witness this insult to the British nation without having it in his power to prevent or avenge it. His force was scattered about to protect the trade of England from the depredations of the enemy's privateers; and even if it had been collected together on the arrival of the enemy, it

would have been too inferior to have made any resistance. His whole squadron consisted of one 50-gun ship, five small frigates, and two or three sloops; whilst that of the enemy amounted to seven sail of the line and four large frigates. But so sensible were the merchants trading to that island, that he had done every thing in his power to avert the evil, and that he had exerted himself to the utmost for the protection of their interests, that they voted him their sincere and heartfelt thanks; a circumstance which must have been highly gratifying to his feelings. The period of his command having expired, Sir James returned to England, and did not again undertake any professional employment. He died March 6, 1803.

The exertions and services of Sir James Wallace during the American war were active, important, and brilliant, and not exceeded by any officer of the same rank in the British navy. He was knighted February 13, 1777; but his abilities and worth do not appear to have afterwards met with that degree of attention and reward which they were undoubtedly entitled to. If he deserved the honour conferred upon him at the period at which it was bestowed, he was surely entitled to some greater distinction at the close of the war: he had then rendered additional and important services to his country; and his conduct in Concalle Bay may ever be cited as a proof of his courage and intrepidity. If he failed in capturing the 74-gun ship to which he was opposed in 1781, he was free from blame: it was a bold attempt, and maintained with a determination to succeed; but his endeavours were frustrated, not by superior skill and valour, but by sheer strength and superiority of force. Few officers ever possessed a more ardent love for the profession, a purer loyalty for their sovereign, or displayed a more enthusiastic spirit in the service of the country.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL WM. PEERE WILLIAMS FREEMAN.

THOUGH, in tracing the progress of every officer whose services we notice, there may appear a sameness to the reader, from their profession, their duties, their habits, and, in general, their inclinations, it is due to every individual to narrate his services from the commencement to the close. The work that records those actions which have shed the utmost brilliancy on the profession, should also publish to the world the continued series of hardships to which its members are exposed; the perils they run, the dangers they pass, and the surmounting of which by ability, industry, and perseverance, leads to that success, those honours, and that renown, which are the pride and boast of the country.

The just esteem and reputation which Admiral Williams enjoyed when actively employed in defence of the nation, render it necessary that we should insert an account of his professional conduct. His private connections and situation in life appear to have been of the most respectable class, being the grandson of Peere Williams, the celebrated law-reporter, and son of the Rev. Dr. Williams, prebend of Peterborough, at which borough the subject of this Memoir was born, in December 1741. Having made choice of a naval life, his name was entered in the books of the Royal Sovereign in 1757; and from that time till 1779 he was studying mathematics under Mr. Hasledine, second master of the Royal Academy at Portsmouth. He was then placed on the quarter-deck of the Magnanime, under the patronage of Lord Howe, and served as his aide-de-camp in the glorious action of Hawke with Conflans. He continued in the Magnanime till the termination of hostilities, and of course had the daily opportunity of beholding and contemplating the greatness of his lordship's character, which had every thing in it calculated to improve the mind, and instil those principles of honour, courage, and integrity, which are the characteristics of British officers, and which were easily implanted in the breast of one who possessed the ardent and ingenuous character of Mr. Williams.

In the early part of the peace, he went to Halifax in the Romney, commanded by Lord Colville, by whom he was made a lieutenant, and appointed to the Rainbow, Captain Walter Sterling, on the Virginia

station. With that gentleman he returned to England at the expiration of his period of service.

In 1766, he was advanced to the rank of master and commander in the Thunder bomb; and on the 10th January, 1771, to that of post-captain in the Active frigate. He then sailed for the West Indies, to join the squadron under Admiral Mann, where he caught the fever natural to the climate, and which reduced him to such a state of weakness, that he was obliged to ask leave of the Admiralty to change his station. He was then ordered to Newfoundland, and to put himself under the command of Admiral Montagu; but the severity of that climate, in his weak state, was little less detrimental than the one he had left: he therefore exchanged ships with Captain Lobb of the Lively, whose period of service was expired. Having again inhaled the salubrious air of his native country, he soon experienced the beneficial effects of the change, and in 1780 commissioned the Flora of 40 guns and 259 men, in which ship he was ordered to join the Channel fleet under Admiral Geary; and whilst standing in under Ushant in quest of the fleet, discovered through the haze a large square-rigged vessel and cutter, with their heads to the northward, distant about four miles to leeward, wind E.N.E. Captain Williams immediately beat to quarters, made sail, and edged towards them. The enemy, nothing daunted, perceiving his intentions, backed his top-sails and waited his approach, apparently with great coolness and a determination to try his strength: the cutter in the mean time kept working off and on. At ten minutes past five, being within two cables' length and abreast of each other, the Flora hoisted her colours, and at the same time received a broadside from the enemy. This was immediately returned, when a desperate and determined action ensued, which continued with unusual warmth and animosity for an hour, each side vying with the utmost degree of national emulation to obtain the victory; but the Flora's wheel being shot away, her shrouds, back-stays, standing and running rigging much cut and damaged, she fell on board the enemy, and in this position the action was continued for fifteen minutes longer with unabated ardour. The enemy then deserted their great guns, and made a desperate attempt to carry the Flora by boarding, but were speedily repulsed, with considerable loss and in great confusion. Such a moment was not to be lost, and Captain Williams in turn gave instant orders to board his opponent, who were driven from their quarters, their colours hauled down, the crew calling for quarter, and complete posses-

sion was taken of the Nymphe, a very fine frigate, pierced for 40 guns, but mounted only 32. Her crew consisted of 290 men, 63 of whom, including her first and second captains, first lieutenant, and several other officers, were killed, and 73 wounded; whilst the loss of the Flora amounted to only 9 killed and 27 wounded. Captain Williams expressed in the strongest manner the high opinion he entertained of the coolness and intrepidity which the officers and crew of the Flora displayed; and his own gallantry and skill were eminently manifested throughout, and deserving of the highest praise. If the Flora mounted eight guns more than her antagonist, her crew was considerably less, which put both ships upon an equality. Having brought his enemy triumphantly into port, the Flora was refitted, and in the following spring sailed with Admiral Darby to the relief of Gibraltar, from whence Captain Williams was detached, having the Crescent, Captain Pakenham, under his orders, with money for the troops under the command of Generals Murray and Sir William Draper at Minorca. The charge being safely deposited, the two frigates left Port Mahon for England on the 3d May, and with the intention of repassing the gut of Gibraltar with as little delay as possible; but on the 23d they fell in with eight sail of Spanish vessels, consisting of one ship of 74 guns, four large xebecs, and three smaller vessels. The enemy immediately gave chase with their large ship and two xebecs of 36 guns each. About eleven o'clock one of the xebecs got within reach of the Crescent, and a running fire continued for about three hours. Captain Williams was at this time ahead of the Crescent, and fearing that a chance shot might carry away some of her rigging and impede her sailing, and thus give time for the two other ships of the enemy to come up, shortened sail, luffed up, and dropped between the Crescent and the enemy, firing all the guns he could bring to bear: by this gallant conduct the Crescent was enabled to get beyond gun-shot. The enemy then brought to, to wait for her companions, and Captain Williams seized this opportunity to follow the Crescent. The chase, however, was continued by the enemy with great pertinacity, but the two frigates having altered their course during the night, on the following morning the enemy were not to be seen. They arrived at Gibraltar on the 29th; and having informed General Elliot of the Spanish squadron being in the neighbourhood, stood over to the coast of Barbary, in search of two large ships which they had observed to windward at daybreak, and which they soon after got sight of. Finding them to be Dutch frigates, both ships immediately

prepared for action; but as it blew a gale of wind at the time, Captain Williams thought proper to wait for a more favourable opportunity, which was afforded him the following morning. The wind then abated, and the sea having fallen, the Flora and Crescent edged down to their opponents, and about five o'clock brought them to a close and decided action, ship to ship. A furious contest ensued, and was continued for two hours and a quarter, when the Flora's opponent struck her colours; and Captain Williams immediately took possession of the Castor, mounting 36 guns, commanded by Captain Pieter Melvill, who had 22 men killed and 41 wounded. The Flora had 9 killed and 32 wounded. The Crescent continued the action a few minutes longer, when her main and mizen-masts were carried away, and as the whole of the wreck fell within board, her guns were rendered useless, and Captain Pakenham, after doing all that a brave man could do in such a situation, was under the necessity of striking his colours. The Flora having sustained considerable damage prevented Captain Williams from rendering immediate assistance to the Crescent, but by great exertion he placed the Flora in such a position as prevented the enemy from taking possession of her, and who made off with what sail they could set.

The Crescent and Castor were so considerably damaged, that it was with great difficulty they could be kept afloat, and five days were occupied in their repairs before they were enabled to make sail towards the Channel. Their difficulties, however, did not end here, as on the 19th June two large frigates were observed bearing down towards them, when Captain Williams immediately formed the three ships in a line, in hopes that their united force would have intimidated the enemy from approaching; but, encouraged no doubt by their crippled appearance, they continued the pursuit, and gained fast upon them. Conscious of his want of strength, and that it would be the height of imprudence to attempt any resistance, Captain Williams, after consulting with his officers, gave orders for each ship to steer a different course. The Castor he had the mortification to see taken, and the Crescent shared the same fate during the night.

From this period, Captain Williams did not again go to sea*; a circum-

* Lieutenant Marshall, in his life of this gentleman, has subsequently placed him in the Prince George of 98 guns, and sent him through the West India campaign of 1782, with Sir G. Rodney and Sir S. Hood, and which terminated with the battle of the 12th

stance which could not but be regretted, as the ability and courage he had displayed in those situations in which he was placed, were convincing proofs, that had he been fortunate enough to meet with any more important opportunities, they would not have passed without obtaining an increase of those laurels which he had so gallantly won.

On the 12th April, 1794, he was made a rear-admiral; on the 1st June, 1795, vice-admiral; and on the 1st January, 1801, admiral.

The admiral married, in 1771, Miss Wills, by which lady he had four children; one of whom only survives, and who resides at Fawley-Court, near Henley-upon-Thames, an estate to which the admiral succeeded on the death of a Mr. Freeman, on which occasion he took the surname of Freeman.

April. But it was Captain J. Williams who served in that ship, and not any relation to the admiral.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF
ADMIRAL SIR THOMAS PASLEY.

DURING a period of unexampled danger to this country, which was marked by the strongest combinations of power and force against its independence, when its safety depended on its own strength and resources, when the threats and efforts of an ambitious and powerful enemy were baffled and defeated, when the interests of the country were upheld with a glory which exceeded its previous splendour, when the skill and exertions of her naval officers were displayed in a manner unparalleled in history; at this period, which required the exertion of every individual, and was attended with the most brilliant exploits, the name of Pasley stands conspicuously enrolled, and the battle of the 1st June can never be mentioned without calling to mind his gallant conduct, and the service he rendered to his country.

Sir Thomas Pasley was the descendant of a highly respectable Scotch family, and was born at Craig, in Dumfriesshire, March 2, 1734. Having entered into the naval service of his country, he served his time as a midshipman with Captains Willett, Cockburn, Webber, and Digby, in different parts of the globe. By the latter officer he was made acting-lieutenant, and then proceeded with him in the expedition fitted out against Rochefort. Upon their return from this unfortunate exploit, Mr. Pasley's commission was confirmed by the Admiralty, and he was appointed to the Roman Emperor fire-ship. From this vessel, however, he shortly after removed to the Hussar frigate, commanded by Captain Elliot: on the appointment of the latter to the Æolus, he accompanied him on board that vessel, and on the 19th March, 1759, greatly distinguished himself in capturing the Mignone of 20 guns, after sustaining a partial action with a frigate of 36 guns. Early in the following year, the Æolus was employed on the Irish station, and having put into Kinsale, intelligence was received that three French frigates, under M. Thurot, were off the coast. At this time Captain Elliot had with him the Brilliant and Pallas of 36 guns each, and immediately sailed in quest of the enemy, whom he fortunately discovered on the 28th February. After an action which lasted an hour and a half, and was maintained on both sides with great

spirit and ability, the brave, humane, and generous Thurot fell: he was lamented by friends and foes, as his behaviour on all occasions was replete with honour, humanity, and generosity. The colours of the Belleisle were then struck, and the Blonde and Terpsichore also became prizes to their gallant assailants. In this memorable contest the coolness, judgment, and gallantry of Lieutenant Pasley were particularly conspicuous. During the action the Æolus fell on board the Belleisle, whose bowsprit was over her quarter-deck, and consequently was not only exposed to the whole weight of her fire, without being able to bring a gun to bear upon the Belleisle, but was also compelled to engage the Blonde, which also fell on board the Æolus at the same time. The superiority which the enemy at that moment possessed over the Æolus was so great, that the event of the contest was much to be feared, had they not been resisted by the most consummate ability, joined to the utmost courage and intrepidity. Seeing the critical situation of affairs, Lieutenant Pasley called the men from the foremost guns, boarded the Belleisle, and making himself master of the deck, soon obtained possession of the ship.

Captain Elliot having been succeeded in the command of the Æolus by Captain Hotham, Lieutenant Pasley accompanied the latter on a cruise off Spain, and greatly added to the services he had already performed*. He continued in the Æolus till towards the end of 1762, when he returned to England, and on his arrival found that he had been promoted to the rank of commander. He soon after took the command of the Albany sloop, and thence removed to the Weasel. On board this vessel he proceeded to the coast of Guinea, where he was exposed to many difficulties, and experienced the severe effects of the unhealthiness of the climate; so that he was obliged to impress men from the merchant-service, though in a time of peace, to bring his vessel to England.

In 1771, he obtained the rank of post-captain, was appointed to the Seahorse of 20 guns, and sailed to the West Indies. From this station, however, he returned the following year, and remained unemployed till 1776, when the revolt in the American colonies obliged the British government to have recourse to arms. On that occasion he was appointed to the Glasgow, and again proceeded to the West Indies with a valuable convoy, consisting of one hundred and twenty sail. In the prosecution of this service he displayed so much zeal and assiduity, that he not only

* See *Memoir of Lord* HOTHAM.

received the thanks of the merchants of London and Bristol, but his lady was presented with a piece of plate, as a more substantial proof of their gratitude and of the high opinion they entertained of his professional abilities. Captain Pasley also brought a very large fleet of merchantmen to England, and again called forth expressions of approbation from those whose property was under his charge. Thus did the voice of praise reward the arduous and constant labours of this distinguished officer. Captain Pasley subsequently commanded the Sibylle of 28 guns, in which he captured an American privateer, and also a Spanish packet, with dispatches of great importance.

In 1780, he was appointed to the Jupiter of 50 guns, and in the following year accompanied Commodore Johnstone in his expedition against the Cape of Good Hope. He was consequently engaged with the squadron under M. Suffrein in Porto Praya road, was eminently distinguished by the effective and well-directed fire which he kept up, and was most fully exonerated from all and every part of the obloquy attached to the issue of that affair. After proceeding to Saldanha Bay, Captain Pasley returned to England with Commodore Johnstone, and was shortly after ordered to the West Indies, to carry out Admiral Pigot as successor to Sir George Rodney. When close in with St. Lucia, he captured a French schooner, with a cargo of flour and 3000 dollars. After his arrival, he was ordered to cruise off the Havannah, where he fell in with thirteen merchant-vessels, which dispersed on his appearing in sight, but of which he had the good fortune to capture five. Hostilities having ceased, Captain Pasley returned to England, and for five years enjoyed that relaxation which, from his constant services, he stood so much in need of. In 1788, he was nominated to the chief command of the ships and vessels in the Medway, having the rank of commodore; but in consequence of the apprehended rupture with Spain in 1790, he was appointed to the Bellerophon. The dispute being amicably arranged, he resumed his former occupation, and continued during the usual period.

At the commencement of 1793, he was again appointed to the Bellerophon, and joined the Channel fleet under Lord Howe. On the 12th April, 1794, he was most deservedly raised to the rank of rear-admiral of the White, but still continued on board the Bellerophon and attached to the squadron under Lord Howe. He was naturally solicitous to assert the honour of his country's flag, and fortunately he was not long withheld from the opportunity of so doing. On the 28th May the

fleet of France was discovered, and as the conduct of their admiral indicated an intention to avoid a close action, Lord Howe ordered a general chase; and in order as much as possible to prevent their escape, Admiral Pasley, with a flying squadron, was directed to attack their rear. He accordingly advanced with the utmost firmness and intrepidity, and alone engaged the Revolutionaire for a considerable time, without any assistance from his own squadron, and until the coming up of the Leviathan and Audacious. On the following day, when Lord Howe broke through the enemy's line, he was most nobly seconded by Admiral Pasley; but the day terminated, like the preceding, without any thing decisive being effected. On the memorable 1st June success the most brilliant crowned the efforts of the British fleet, but was attended with the loss of many a brave man. Amongst the list of wounded was Rear-Admiral Pasley, who, like Admiral Bowyer, lost a leg; and who, like him, received every palliative which his sovereign, his country, and his commander could bestow. Like him he was created a baronet, received the thanks of the nation through their representatives, and a pension of 1000*l.* a year. He also received a pair of goblets from the committee for conducting the subscriptions for the relief of the wounded, and which were valued at 500*l.*

On the 1st June, 1795, he was made vice-admiral of the White. Though this gallant officer, from the loss which he had sustained, was prevented from going to sea, the country was not entirely deprived of his services in the line of his profession, having been appointed in 1798 commander-in-chief in the Medway; which, however, he held but a short time: but in March, 1799, he was appointed port-admiral at Plymouth.

Sir Thomas died November 29, 1808. He married Mary, daughter of Thomas Hayward, Esq. Chief Justice of the Isle of Man, by whom he had two daughters.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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